

# HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

of the Protestant Episcopal Church



---

MARCH, 1957



•  
*"The 350th Anniversary of the Founding  
of Virginia, 1607-1957"*

•  
**EDITORIALS**

•  
**THE REVEREND RICHARD HAKLUYT (c. 1553-1616)  
AND THE FIRST CHARTER OF VIRGINIA (1606)**

*By Walter H. Stone*

•  
**CHAPLAIN ROBERT HUNT AND HIS PARISH IN  
KENT**

*By Charles W. F. Smith*

•  
**THE FOUNDATIONS OF CHURCH AND STATE IN  
VIRGINIA**

*By William Stevens Perry*

•  
**THE ESTABLISHMENT, GOVERNMENT, AND  
FUNCTIONING OF THE CHURCH IN COLO-  
NIAL VIRGINIA**

*By Spencer Brin*

---

**PUBLISHED QUARTERLY: \$1.25 THE COPY—\$4 THE YEAR**

# HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

## of the Protestant Episcopal Church



PUBLISHED AT 5 PATERSON STREET, NEW BRUNSWICK, NEW JERSEY, BY AUTHORITY OF GENERAL CONVENTION, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF A JOINT COMMISSION OF SAID CONVENTION, AND UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE CHURCH HISTORICAL SOCIETY

### EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

CANON WALTER H. STOWE, S.T.D.  
5 Paterson Street, New Brunswick, N. J.

### ASSOCIATE EDITORS

REV. DUBOSE MURPHY, M.A.  
Tuscaloosa, Alabama

REV. WILLIAM W. MANROSS, PH.D.  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

PROF. FRANK J. KLINGBERG, PH.D.  
Los Angeles, California

PROF. RICHARD G. SOLOMON, PH.D.  
Gambier, Ohio

RT. REV. EDWARD L. PARSONS, D.D.  
San Francisco, California

CANON C. RANKIN BARNES, S.T.D.  
New York City

REV. EDWARD R. HARDY, JR., PH.D.  
New Haven, Connecticut

REV. EDWARD H. ECKEL, S.T.D.  
Tulsa, Oklahoma

### JOINT COMMISSION OF GENERAL CONVENTION

RT. REV. WALTER H. GRAY, D.D., *Chairman*

REV. CANON WALTER H. STOWE, S.T.D., *Vice-Chairman*

REV. CANON C. RANKIN BARNES, D.D., *Secretary*

RT. REV. THOMAS N. CARRUTHERS, D.D.

REV. WILLIAM W. MANROSS, PH.D.

RT. REV. NELSON M. BURBOUGHS, D.D.

COL. JACKSON A. DYKMAN, D.C.L.

RT. REV. HENRY H. SHIRES, S.T.D.

PROF. FRANK J. KLINGBERG, PH.D.

REV. G. MACLAREN BRYDON, D.D.

PROF. RICHARD G. SOLOMON, PH.D.

LAWRENCE F. LONDON, PH.D.

PUBLICATION AND EDITORIAL OFFICE: 5 Paterson St., New Brunswick, N. J.  
Address all subscriptions to HISTORICAL MAGAZINE as above. Four Dollars per year in advance for subscriptions within the U. S. A. Five Dollars per year in advance for foreign subscriptions. Checks should be drawn payable to HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

All communications and manuscripts for publication, including books and pamphlets for review, to be addressed as above. The editors are not responsible for the accuracy of the statements of contributors.

Entered as second-class matter September 17, 1935, at the Post Office at New Brunswick, N. J., with additional entry at the Post Office at Richmond, Va., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

# HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

of the Protestant Episcopal Church



EDITOR-IN-CHIEF  
CANON WALTER HERBERT STOWE, S.T.D.

## ASSOCIATE EDITORS

REV. DUBOSE MURPHY, M.A.  
PROF. FRANK J. KLINGBERG, PH.D.  
RT. REV. EDWARD L. PARSONS, D.D.  
REV. EDWARD R. HARDY, PH.D.

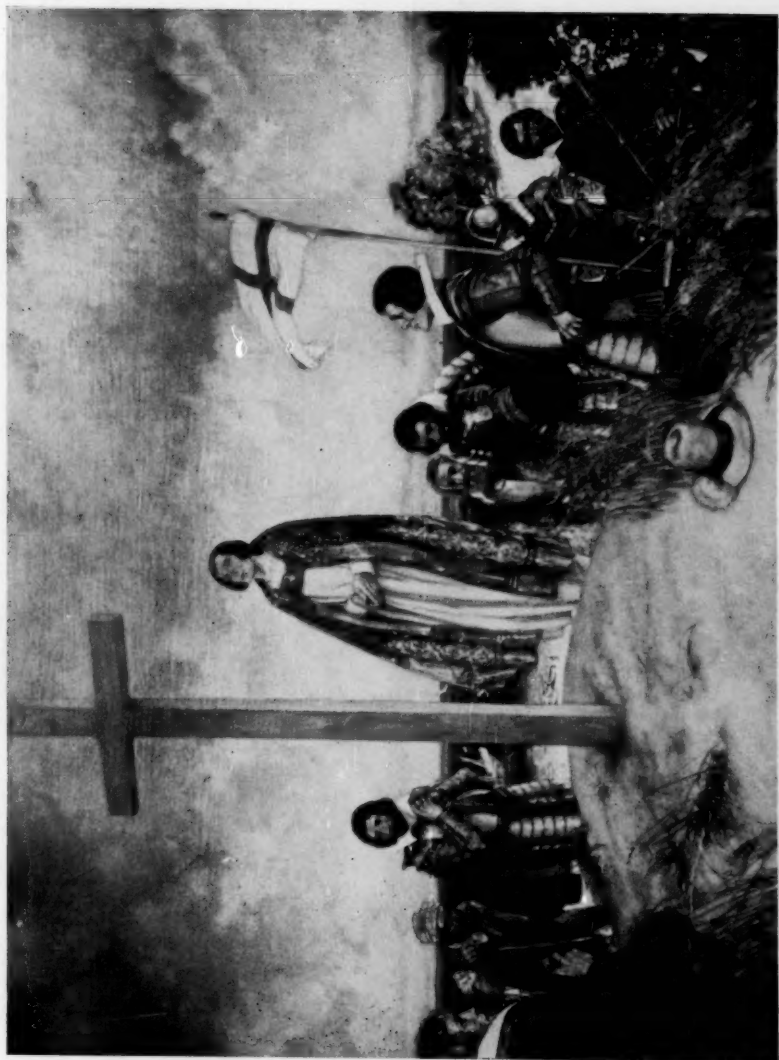
REV. WILLIAM W. MANROSS, PH.D.  
PROF. RICHARD G. SALOMON, PH.D.  
CANON C. RANKIN BARNES, S.T.D.  
REV. EDWARD H. ECKEL, S.T.D.

VOLUME XXVI  
1957

JOINT COMMISSION OF THE GENERAL CONVENTION  
5 Paterson Street  
New Brunswick, New Jersey

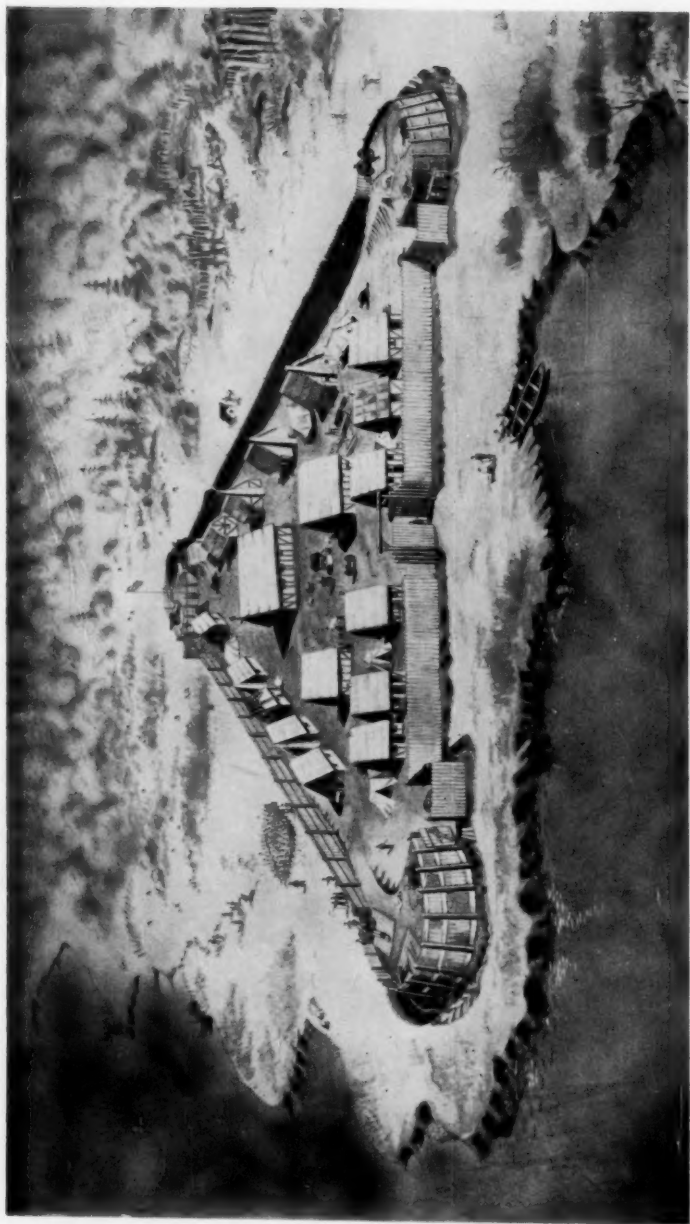






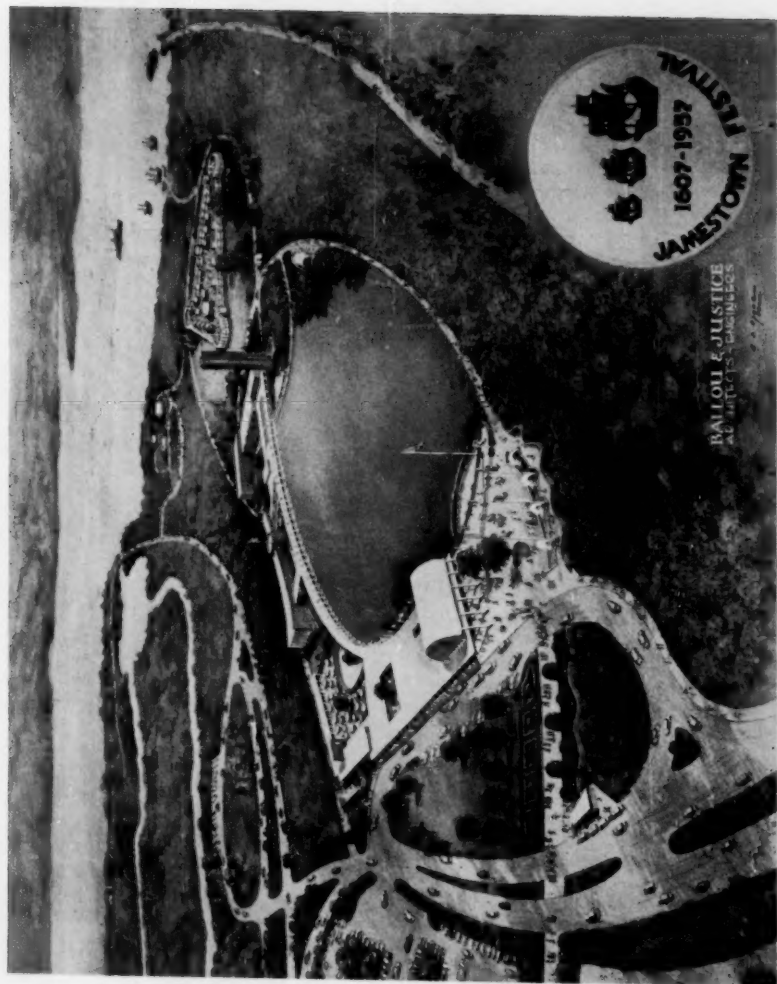
**THE REVEREND ROBERT HUNT AND THE FIRST COLONISTS AT PRAYER**

*Painting of 1988 by the English artist Stephen Reid (1875-1948), depicting the arrival of the first permanent English settlers in America at Cape Henry on April 26, 1607. Here the Rev. Robert Hunt leads in prayer before a cross which the 103 or 104 colonists set up on the dunes before proceeding up the James River to found Jamestown, Virginia.*



#### JAMES FORT

*Reconstruction of James Fort, 420 feet long on the James River side and 300 feet along its other two sides. Here the first permanent English colonists in America lived and worshipped during the earliest days of the settlement in 1607. The Fort with its quaint houses and church and ancient cannon will be a feature of the Jamestown Festival of 1987, celebration of the 350th anniversary of the landing of Captain Christopher Newport, Captain John Smith, and 103 settlers.*



# ARCHITECT'S RENDERING OF JAMESTOWN FESTIVAL PARK

This is being built by the State of Virginia for the Festival of 1937. At upper left is Jamestown Island, now connected to the mainland by the \$3,000,000 Colonial Parkway of the Federal Government. At upper right are replicas of triangular James Fort of 1607 and the Three Ships, moored in the James River. The buildings include a reception center, Old World Pavilion and New World Pavilion. A pylon stands on the Mall.



**THE OLD CHURCH TOWER AT JAMESTOWN, VIRGINIA**

*This Tower dates from 1639. A wooden church which preceded this brick church, on the same site, was the scene of the first representative legislature in America, which convened on July 30, 1619. The Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities has preserved the Church Tower and restored the Church, in part, on Jamestown Island.*

# HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

of the Protestant Episcopal Church



Vol. XXVI MARCH, 1957

No. 1



## ***"The 350th Anniversary of the Founding of Virginia, 1607-1957"***

### CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
EDITORIALS .....	2
<p>The Motive Is Gratitude . . . Would That Some "Active" Clergy Were As Alert As This "Retired" Priest . . . Schedule of Events for the Visit of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Presiding Bishop . . . Calendar of Events of the James- town Festival—1957</p>	
THE REVEREND RICHARD HAKLUYT (c. 1553-1616) AND THE FIRST CHARTER OF VIRGINIA (1606).....	10
<i>By Walter H. Stowe</i>	
CHAPLAIN ROBERT HUNT AND HIS PARISH IN KENT..	15
<i>By Charles W. F. Smith</i>	
THE FOUNDATIONS OF CHURCH AND STATE IN VIR- GINIA .....	34
<i>By William Stevens Perry</i>	
THE ESTABLISHMENT, GOVERNMENT, AND FUNCTION- ING OF THE CHURCH IN COLONIAL VIRGINIA....	65
<i>By Spencer Ervin</i>	

## Editorials

### The Motive Is Gratitude

**E**VERY minister of the Episcopal Church in America in charge of a congregation—whether he be bishop, priest, deacon, or lay reader—will wish to lead his congregation in a service of commemoration, *at least once*, between Easter Day, April 21st, and the last Sunday in June, 1957. Such a service will be concerned with the 350th anniversary of the settlement of Jamestown, Virginia, 1607-1957.

The dates of special interest to Churchmen (i. e. Anglicans and Episcopalians) are:

*April 26, 1607* (3rd Sunday after Easter):

First landing of the colonists at Cape Henry, Virginia.

*May 13, 1607* (Wednesday):

The three ships—the *Susan Constant*, the *Godspeed*, and the *Discovery*—dropped anchor at Jamestown, and 105 colonists began the *first permanent* English settlement in the New World.

*June 21, 1607* (3rd Sunday after Trinity):

The *first recorded* celebration of the Holy Communion, the Rev. Robert Hunt, officiating, in Virginia.

The Sundays in 1957 which are especially appropriate for such commemorations are: April 28th, May 12th, and June 16th. The official Church commemoration at Cape Henry will be on April 28th, and at Jamestown, on June 16th.

Our motive in these commemorations is gratitude to Almighty God for the beginning of American society, as we know it, and for the beginning of the American Episcopal Church. We are grateful that religion and religious men played such a strong part in these beginnings, and that the old canard that this founding of Virginia was "a secular enterprise carried out by free thinkers" has been exploded. As the secular historians, Charles A. and Mary R. Beard, wrote, almost a generation ago:

"... If records are to be taken at face value, 'Neither the desire for treasure nor even the wish to promote the power of England' was the chief object of the Virginia Company; its heart was set on the glory of God and the propagation of the Christian faith among them that sat in darkness. In their advertisements for colonists the officers of the Company were at pains to indicate that they wished only settlers of correct religious life..."\*

If anybody has any doubts on this score, the first three articles immediately following ought to resolve those doubts.

We are humble as well as grateful when we realize the tremendous cost in lives involved in establishing this first permanent settlement. *Nine-tenths of the colonists died during the terrible "Starving Time."* The death toll from malaria, typhoid fever, and Indian massacres was appalling.

We are grateful that the first representative legislative assembly in the New World was organized as early as 1619, and that its first sessions were held in the Jamestown Church; and this representative assembly, known as the House of Burgesses, upheld, as far as legislation could do so, the religious professions of the Company and the Crown under whom this enterprise of colonization was initiated.

Further on in these editorial pages will be found the "Schedule of Events for the Visit of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Presiding Bishop, April 26-May 8," and following that the "Calendar of Events, April 1-November 30," as planned by the Virginia 350th Anniversary Commission. Both calendars are well worth study.

WALTER H. STOWE.

## Would That Some "Active" Clergy Were As Alert As This "Retired" Priest!

THE Reverend Cortlandt H. Mallery has spent almost his entire ministry in the Diocese of New Jersey. For thirty-seven years, until his retirement in 1946, he was rector of St. Andrew's Church, Plainfield. The following letter to the Plainfield, New Jersey, *Courier-News* will show how mentally alert he has kept himself:

\**The Rise of American Civilization* (one vol. ed., New York, The Macmillan Company, 1930), pp. 46-48.



## **Letters to Editor**

### **Says Jamestown, Not Plymouth, Should be Honored as 'First'**

Editor The Courier-News:

I read with interest the article in your issue of Nov. 16 headed "Mayflower Sails for America Next Spring," by David L. Bowen.

Mr. Bowen states in this article that the Mayflower settlers formed "the first permanent English settlement in America." Of course, this is not true, as any reputable school history of the United States will show.

The first permanent English settlement in America was that made by the Cavaliers who landed at Jamestown, Va. in 1607, 13 years before the landing of the Pilgrims on Plymouth Rock. These men came on three ships, namely, the Susan Constant, Discovery and Godspeed.

They first landed on Cape Henry in April, 1607 and erected a cross there, a replica of which can be seen on the spot today. In time they sailed up the James River and finally settled at Jamestown naming both river and settlement after the then reigning monarch, King James I. They built a fort and church, the ruins of which may still be seen. In 1619 they organized the Virginia House of Burgesses at Williamsburg which was the first legislative body in America and the model for the future form of the government of our country.

Thus in 1619, one year before the Mayflower landed at Plymouth Rock, they were well established in this country. The 350th anniversary of this historic event is to be elaborately celebrated in this coming year—1957.

It is sponsored by President Eisenhower, the U. S. Congress which has already appropriated a large sum towards its expenses, the State of Virginia and other authorities of both church and state. Prominent guests from England have been invited to attend and the British government, I believe, is to send a warship for the occasion.

In view of all this it seems to me that the sending of the replica of the Mayflower to Plymouth at the very same time that this celebration is taking place at Jamestown is, to say the least, inappropriate and a bit discourteous. It smacks somewhat of a spirit of competition.

It should be postponed until 1970 which would be the 350th anniversary of the Mayflower landing at Plymouth Rock and is a more appropriate date.



It seems a pity that the descendants of the Jamestown settlers did not form a Jamestown Society similar to the Mayflower Society and thus kept alive, like the latter has done for the Plymouth landing, the great event their ancestors achieved in founding the first permanent English settlement in America.

REV. C. H. MALLERY.

We sent this letter to Mr. Parke Rouse, Jr., executive director of the Virginia 350th Anniversary Commission. In his reply, dated December 17, 1956, he said:

"This is certainly a good statement, and I wish like you that more people would rise to the occasion and correct historical misstatements when they appear."

Mr. Rouse, himself, in the same letter, contributes evidence of how widespread is this falsehood that the Pilgrims made "the first permanent English settlement in America":

"Incidentally, The Associated Press has just written us, apologizing for the usual mistake of crediting the first permanent settlement to Massachusetts, made in a recent nationally distributed feature story."

But alas! how seldom, if ever, does such an apology ever catch up with the "mistake," to use the most charitable word in the premises. It is, of course, inexcusable ignorance, but it will nevertheless become *invincible* ignorance, if those who know the truth do not take seriously their obligation to propagate the truth.

WALTER H. STOWE.

### Schedule of Events for the Visit of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Presiding Bishop to Participate in the 350th Anniversary Festival of Jamestown, Virginia.

April 26th —FRIDAY

Arrival in Norfolk, Virginia, in A.M., by train from New York City.—Met and taken to Cavalier Hotel, Virginia Beach, Virginia.

12:30 P.M.—Luncheon: Southern Virginia Clergy and Wives to be presented to Distinguished Guests.

Attend, as Distinguished Guests, Historic Pageant, at Seashore Park. Archbishop to give Invocation. Dinner at Cavalier Hotel.

10:30 P.M.—*Archbishop interviewed by Edward R. Murrow over E. S. T. nation-wide T.V. program, "Person to Person."*

April 27th —SATURDAY:

Tour of Naval Operating Base, 5th District, and luncheon.

2:30 P.M.—Attend International Azalea Festival as Distinguished Guests.

5:00 P.M.—Social Hour, Cavalier Hotel.

6:00 P.M.—Reception in honor of Distinguished Guests.

6:30 P.M.—Dinner in honor of Distinguished Guests.

9:00 P.M.—Concert of Chamber Music.

April 28th —SUNDAY: CAPE HENRY DAY.

1:00 P.M.—Luncheon, Fort Story.

3:00 P.M.—Service at Memorial Cross, Cape Henry.

Address by the Presiding Bishop.

Address by the Archbishop.

4:45 P.M.—Departure for Williamsburg, Virginia.

Arrival and dinner at Williamsburg Inn.

8:00 P.M.—Service at Bruton Parish Church, Williamsburg.

Address by the Presiding Bishop.

Address by the Archbishop.

April 29th —MONDAY: JAMESTOWN DAY.

10:00 A.M.—Tour of Jamestown Island and Festival Park.

1:00 P.M.—Luncheon on Jamestown Island by the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities.

3:30 P.M.—Service in Old Tower Church and Dedication of the Memorial Cross over the remains of the original settlers.

Address by the Presiding Bishop.

Address by the Archbishop.

6:30 P.M.—Dinner at Carter's Grove.

April 30th —TUESDAY: WILLIAMSBURG DAY.

10:00 A.M.—Tour of Williamsburg.

Exercises at the College of William and Mary.

Address by the Archbishop.

1:00 P.M.—Luncheon at the College of William and Mary.

4:30 P.M.—Service at Merchants Hope Church (1657), Prince George County.

Address by the Archbishop.

6:30 P.M.—Dinner and night spent at Brandon Mansion.

May 1st-3rd—WEDNESDAY—FRIDAY:

In Diocese of Virginia.

- May 3rd —FRIDAY P. M.:  
En Route to the University of the South, Sewanee.
- May 4th-5th—SATURDAY—SUNDAY:  
At the University of the South.
- May 5th —SUNDAY:  
En Route to Philadelphia.
- May 6th —In Philadelphia.
- May 8th —WEDNESDAY:  
Return to England.

## Calendar of Events of the Jamestown Festival—1957

### As Published by the Virginia 350th Anniversary Commission

- April 1 —Beginning of Festival in Jamestown area. Governor and British Ambassador open Jamestown Festival Park. Three ships, Fort, Glasshouse and other attractions.
- April 20-27—Twenty-fourth Annual Historic Garden Week in Virginia. About 250 old homes and gardens, including famous James River plantations, open to public throughout Virginia.
- April 26 —First Landing of Colonists on this date (1607). Reenactment of landing from full-scale floating replicas of Three Ships at Cape Henry near Virginia Beach.
- April 27 —International Azalea Court in Azalea Gardens blossoming at this time near Norfolk and Virginia Beach. Foreign dignitaries attending crowning of beauty queen.
- April 28 —Commemoration of raising of cross at Cape Henry by Colonists (1607) at First Landing Dune near Virginia Beach. Presiding Bishop of Protestant Episcopal Church attending.
- April 29 —Opening of newly restored Adam Thoroughgood House, one of the oldest brick dwellings in Virginia (1634), between Norfolk and Virginia Beach off U. S. Route 60.
- April 30 —Three Ships commemorate landing at Old Point Comfort, oldest fortified site in English America, near Hampton and Newport News. Military displays at Fort Monroe.
- May 1 —Hampton-Kecoughtan Day, marking visit of Colonists on that date (1607) to Indian Village Kecoughtan. Reenactment of Colonists' encounter with Indians, at Hampton.

- May 2 —Celebration of Three Ships' discovery of Point Hope, now Newport News, on that date (1607). Ceremonies marking maritime progress of Hampton Roads ports, at Newport News.
- May 2-3 —Apple Blossom Festival at Winchester in Valley of Virginia. Parade with floats and other ceremonies, with selection of beauty queen.
- May 4 —Beginning of Caroline County celebration, lasting through June 2. Tours of historic homes, pageant and other events reached by U. S. Route 301.
- May 7-12 —Parade and period play at Fredericksburg (U. S. Route 1) and pageant performance at Mary Washington College. Near home of Mary Washington, mother of first President.
- May 13 —Arrival of Colonists on that date (1607) at site of Jamestown. Ceremonies at Jamestown commemorating founding of first permanent English settlement.
- Premiere of new outdoor drama on earliest days of Jamestown—*The Founders*, by Pulitzer Prize playwright Paul Green. Matinees only, in the Cove Amphitheater at Williamsburg. Daily except Mondays, 3:30 P. M. (EST)
- May 15 —Opening of newly restored seventeenth-century St. Luke's Church, unique example of Gothic architecture, near Smithfield on State Route 10. National Pilgrimage to site.
- May 18 —Opening of exhibition "England 1607" showing cultural background in England of founders of Jamestown colony. At Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, to September 1.
- May 27 —Beginning of Homecoming Week in Virginia. Celebrations in many communities of the State, lasting through June 2, in honor of native Virginians living elsewhere.
- May 30 —Historical drama on Patrick Henry at Hanover County Courthouse in county of his birth. Through July 6 on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday nights on U. S. Route 301.
- June 1 —Reenactment of convention of 1775 in St. John's Church, in Richmond, where Patrick Henry gave his "Liberty or Death" speech before the convention.
- June 8-17 —International Naval Review in Hampton Roads. Warships of a score of foreign navies guests of United States Navy. Entertainment in port cities for officers and men.
- June 9 —Opening of "350 Years of Progress," a display of commercial and industrial progress in Virginia, in the Arena, Richmond. Lasting through September 9.

- June 12 —Pageant, *Cradle of the Cockade*, during Petersburg's Homecoming Week. At National Military Park in Petersburg, reached by U. S. Routes 1 and 301.
- June 14-15 —Royal Dominion Celebration at Jamestown, commemorating Virginia's becoming a Crown Colony (1624). Distinguished British guests attending ceremonies at Jamestown.
- Sunday  
June 16 —Celebration of the Holy Communion in the Jamestown Church, the Rev. Churchill J. Gibson, Celebrant. [350th Anniversary of the First *Recorded* Celebration of this Sacrament in Virginia.]
- June 26 —Opening of eleventh season of Paul Green's outdoor drama, "The Common Glory," with Revolutionary setting. In Matoaka Lake Amphitheater in Williamsburg, evenings only except Monday, 8:15 P. M. (EST)
- July 30 —Anniversary of first representative legislative Assembly in New World (1619). Congressional and State dignitaries at Jamestown and Williamsburg.
- Sept. 20-28 —State Fair of Virginia at Fairgrounds in Richmond. Agricultural and industrial exhibitions and livestock shows, with midway attractions.
- Oct. 16-19 —National Tobacco Festival in Richmond. Parades and crowning of beauty queen, football game, exhibits recalling origin of tobacco industry at Jamestown (1612).
- Oct. 18-19 —Reenactment of Battle of Yorktown by uniformed members of early American regiments, commemorating victory over Cornwallis (1781). At Yorktown on U. S. Route 17.
- Nov. 30 —Close of Festival with Treaty of Paris Day. 175th anniversary of the provisional treaty recognizing American independence. Ceremony at Yorktown, on U. S. Route 17.

# The Reverend Richard Hakluyt (c. 1553-1616) and the First Charter of Virginia (1606)

By Walter Herbert Stowe



HE First Charter of Virginia was granted by King James I on April 10, 1606, to the oldest of the English colonies in America, in the following language:<sup>1</sup>

**I** JAMES, by the Grace of God, King of *England, Scotland, France and Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c.

WHEREAS our loving and well-disposing Subjects, Sir *Thomas Gates*, and Sir *George Somers*, Knights, *Richard Hackluit*,<sup>2</sup> Prebendary of *Westminster*, and *Edward-Maria Wingfield*, *Thomas Hanham*, and *Ralegh Gilbert*, Esqrs. *William Parker*, and *George Popham*, Gentlemen, and divers others of our loving Subjects, have been humble Suitors unto us, that We would vouchsafe unto them our License, to make Habitation, Plantation, and to deduce a Colony of sundry of our People into that Part of *America*, commonly called VIRGINIA, and other Parts and Territories in *America*, either appertaining unto us, or which are not now actually possessed by any *Christian* Prince of People, .....

Omitting the last few lines of Section I of the Charter, and all of Section II, we come to Section III, which sets forth clearly and succinctly the religious motives of the venture:

III. We, greatly commending, and graciously accepting of, their Desires for the Furtherance of so noble a Work, which may, by the Providence of Almighty God, hereafter tend to the Glory of his Divine Majesty, in propagating of *Christian* religion to such People, as yet live in Darkness and miserable Ignorance of the true knowledge and Worship of God, and may in time bring the Infidels and Savages, living in those Parts, to human Civility, and to a settled and quiet Government; DO, by these our Letters Patents, graciously accept of, and agree to, their humble and well-intended Desires; [*the end of Section III.*]

<sup>1</sup>Charles W. Eliot (editor), *American Historical Documents, 1000-1904* (New York, 1910), pp. 51-61. The passages quoted below are from pp. 51, 52.

<sup>2</sup>Richard HACKLUIT is better known to us as HAKLUYT.

How does it happen that a clergyman who, at the time, was not only prebendary of Westminster but also archdeacon of Westminster, was one of the chief promoters of the petition to King James I for patents to colonize Virginia, and one of those whose names appear in the Charter? Who was this priest, so distinguished that two hundred and thirty years after his death the Hakluyt Society was established in 1846 in London, and named in his honor? Why has it been said that, to Hakluyt, "England is more indebted for its American possession than to any man of that age?"

Richard Hakluyt's family was of Welsh extraction, and not of Dutch, as was once commonly supposed. They had settled in Hertfordshire as early as the 13th century, but Richard was born in or near London about 1553. He attended Westminster School, and in 1570 entered Christ Church College, Oxford, from which he was graduated, B.A., February 19, 1574, and M.A., January 27, 1577. He appears to have taken holy orders at the regular time, which means that he must have been twenty-one years of age when made a deacon, and twenty-four when ordained a priest. This latter canonical provision would indicate that he was not priested until about the time he received his M.A. degree, namely, 1577.

While still in Westminster School, his interest in geography and discovery was aroused by a visit to his cousin and namesake, Richard Hakluyt of Middle Temple, whose discussions of those subjects led young Hakluyt to resolve to "prosecute that knowledge and kind of literature." While at Oxford, he mastered not only Greek and Latin, but Spanish and Portuguese, Italian and French, that he might read all the printed or written voyages and discoveries then available. Soon after taking his M.A. degree, he began at Oxford the first public lectures in geography which "shewed both the old imperfectly composed and the new lately reformed mappes, globes, spheares, and other instruments of this art."

At the age of thirty, Hakluyt was acquainted with "the chiefest captaines at sea, the greatest merchants, and the best mariners of our nation." He was not quite thirty when his first published work appeared, *Divers Voyages Touching the Discoverie of America* (London, 1582). In this volume he argued the advantages to England of having colonies, and it brought him to the attention Lord Howard of Effingham, brother-in-law to Sir Edward Stafford, which latter was the English ambassador to the French court. In 1583, Hakluyt was appointed embassy chaplain, but to carry out his instructions from Secretary Walsingham, some of his principal duties were other than ecclesiastical:



he collected information concerning the French and Spanish movements, and made "diligent inquirie of such things as might yield any light upon our westerne discoverie in America."

During his five years at the French court, Hakluyt brought out three works:

- (1) *A Particular Discourse concerning Western Discoveries* (1584). This was an important work, recommending colonization in the unsettled parts of North America. Hakluyt, on a visit to England in 1584, gave a copy to Queen Elizabeth I, but the MS was lost and never printed until 1877.
- (2) An annotated edition of Peter Martyr's *De Orbe Novo* (Paris, 1587), which contains a rare copperplate map dedicated to Hakluyt, on which the name of "Virginia" first appears.
- (3) A translation of Laudonnière's MS journal of the expedition to Florida, and published in London under the title, *A Notable Historie containing Foure Voyages made by certayne Captaynes into Florida* (1587).

In 1586, Queen Elizabeth made Hakluyt prebendary of Bristol, which preferment he held until his death. In 1588, he finally returned to England, and the next year he published what might be called the first edition—one volume only—of his greatest work:

*The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation* (1589)

which was republished a decade later in a greatly enlarged form, in three volumes, 1598-1600. This work is a collection of the accounts of the voyages of exploration of Englishmen, and of their exploits on the seas.

Perhaps the most famous paper is the story of the last fight of the *Revenge*. In 1591, this ship, under the command of Sir Richard Grenville, through some misunderstanding or other happenstance, became separated from the English fleet of sixteen ships off the Azores. Cut off by the Spanish fleet, Grenville resolved to try to break through the middle of the Spanish line. The *Revenge* was becalmed under the lee of a huge galleon. Hand-to-hand fighting ensued for fifteen hours, this single ship with 150 men battling fifteen Spanish ships with a force of 5,000 men. Needless to say, the *Revenge* was captured, but only after all but 20 of its crew of 150 men were slain. Grenville died a few days later on the Spanish flag-ship *San Pablo*.

But stories of Frobisher's voyages and Harriot's account of Raleigh's North Carolina colony, and other similar papers, make Hakluyt's book an invaluable source of knowledge.



Hakluyt says that he was stirred up to the "burden" and "huge toil" of writing this work by hearing and reading, while in France,

"other nations miraculously extolled for their discoveries and notable enterprises by sea, but the English of all others for their sluggish security and continued neglect of the like attempts, either ignominiously reported or exceedingly condemned, and finding few or none of our men able to reply herein, and not seeing any man to have care to recommend to the world the industrious labours and painful travels of our countrymen."

James Anthony Froude, the English historian,<sup>3</sup> has called Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*,

"the prose epic of the modern English nation," "an invaluable treasure of material for the history of the geography, discovery, and colonization," and a collection of "the heroic tales of the exploits of the great men in whom the new era was inaugurated."

Hakluyt compiled and arranged his great work in its three-volume edition while rector of Wetheringsett in Suffolk, to which he was appointed in 1590. Following its publication at the turn of the century, preferments came rapidly: in 1602, he was made prebendary of Westminster; in 1603, archdeacon of Westminster; and in 1604, one of the chaplains of the Chapel Royal, Savoy.

An English translation from the Portuguese of Antonio Galvano's *The Discoveries of the World* (London, 1601) was edited by Hakluyt, and in the same year he was listed as an adviser of the East India Company, supplying them with maps and with information as to markets.

Hakluyt was twice married: the first time about 1594; the second time, in March, 1604. He left one son who is said to have squandered his inheritance and discredited his name.

That Hakluyt was not content to live in an ivory tower is proved by the fact that he was one of the chief promoters of the petition to the king to colonize Virginia, and by the further fact that his name appears in the First Charter of Virginia, granted, as we have seen, in 1606. That Hakluyt was concerned to have all colonizing projects genuinely motivated by religion—and the Virginia venture in particular—is evidenced by Section III of the Charter, which we have quoted in full above. What is not so generally known is that Hakluyt was desig-

<sup>3</sup>J. A. Froude, *Short Studies in Great Subjects* (1867), I, 446.

nated the first rector or vicar of Jamestown, the intended capital of the prospective colony of Virginia. Moreover, it was Hakluyt who engaged the Rev. Robert Hunt to go with the first expedition of 1607 as his curate, and to be the first clergyman of the first colony in America, with which the continuous history of American Society begins.

Hakluyt's interest in the Virginia venture was acute until his death. His last published work was a translation from the Portuguese of the travels and discoveries of Ferdinand de Soto in Florida, under the title, *Virginia Richly Valued by the Description of Florida her next Neighbour* (London, 1609), which was intended to encourage the young colony of Virginia.

Hakluyt died, November 23, 1616, aged about sixty-three, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, November 26, 1616.

In view of the evidence, then, it is not an idle claim to say that

To Hakluyt, "England is more indebted for its American possession than to any man of that age."

#### BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

[Hakluyt's dedications and prefaces to his works, especially the 1589 and 1598 editions of the *Principal Navigations*, together with a few letters, are the principal sources for his biography. Readily accessible biographical sketches are: *Dictionary of National Biography* (London and New York, 1890), Vol. XXIV, 11-12; *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., Vol. 12, pp. 828-829; 14th ed., Vol. II, pp. 84-85.]

## Chaplain Robert Hunt and His Parish in Kent

By Charles W. F. Smith\*

**T**HE three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the first recorded celebration of the Holy Communion in our country raises again the question of the identity of the celebrant, the Rev. Robert Hunt. A good deal of information has been recovered in the last fifty years, and it may be useful to gather it into one place and review it. The accessibility of Reculver while I was in Kent stimulated my interest in this former parish of Hunt's and in its history. Although Hunt left Reculver four years before he sailed for Virginia, the parish has in itself a significant past and produces a valuable link, through Hunt, in the reality which is the "Anglican" tradition. It affords a complementary background to that provided ecclesiastically by the later Plymouth settlement, and one without which the Pilgrim background does not completely fill in the American picture.

The standard Church histories have described Robert Hunt as vicar of Reculver, or simply as a priest of the Church of England. The references to Reculver depend upon Anderson's *History*,<sup>1</sup> and it is now known that Hunt was, at the time of sailing, the vicar of Heathfield in Sussex. He did not resign his charge in the diocese of Chichester when he left with the Virginia expedition, and, as we shall see, retained it until his death. Absenteeism and plurality were not uncommon, and in this case Hunt was exercising a privilege specifically granted to him.

The certainty of the identification of the Hunt of Jamestown with the Hunt of Reculver would probably not have arisen were it not for the entry in *Alumni Cantabrigienses*,<sup>1-a</sup> where a Cambridge graduate is identified with the Virginia chaplain. This identification has, in turn, disturbed the confidence of the author of the article on Hunt in the

\*The Rev. Dr. Smith is professor of New Testament in the Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Massachusetts. In 1955, he was visiting fellow at St. Augustine's College, Canterbury, England.—*Editor's note.*

<sup>1</sup>See below, Note #9.

<sup>1-a</sup>*Alumni Cantabrigienses*, compiled by John Venn (Cambridge, 1922), Part I. Vol. II. p. 434a. A brief note digests and refers to the 1861 edition of Cooper (see below) and to the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Venn gives the matriculation date as 1603, and adds, "Probably died soon after, 1608." The *Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. S. Lee (London, 1891), Vol. XXVIII, is dependent on Cooper, and says, "Was apparently a son of Robert Hunt, M. A., Vicar of Reculver, Kent."

*Dictionary of American Biography.*<sup>2</sup> The *Alumni* reference is based on the earlier Cambridge identification in *Athenae Cantabrigienses*, which reads in part,

Robert Hunt, whom we suppose to have been a son of Robert Hunt, M.A., who was Vicar of Reculver in Kent from 1594 to 1602, was a member of Trinity Hall, and proceeded L.I.B., 1606, being then or soon afterwards in holy orders. In the same year he was appointed by the famous Richard Hakluyt, with the sanction of Archbishop Bancroft, to accompany the first settlers to Virginia. . . ."<sup>3</sup>

We notice here the necessity of connecting the Hunt in question in some way with Reculver by the words, "we suppose to have been," and by making Robert Hunt M.A., his father. What strikes the student as odd is, of course, that he should immediately upon being graduated and ordained ("then or soon afterwards") have been appointed to so hazardous a post with the cooperation of two churchmen as distinguished as Bancroft and Hakluyt. It is further interesting that he should have proceeded L.I.B., as a preparation for being ordained. There are other reasons which force us to conclude, first, that the Cambridge graduate was not the chaplain to Virginia and, second, that the vicar of Reculver was the father neither of the Trinity Hall graduate nor of the chaplain.

The error is noted as such in the alphabetical list of colonial clergy compiled by Dr. Edward L. Goodwin as Part II of *The Colonial Church in Virginia*.<sup>4</sup> Referring to the *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, Dr. Goodwin says, "This is an error. It was the Vicar of Reculver who came to Virginia, not his son." More recently the vice-master of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, at my request for a review of the college records, has written, "I fear we can no longer claim him as a member of Trinity Hall."<sup>5</sup>

The earliest writers on the subject do not speak of Hunt's age, his college, or his wife and children, nor do they mention his current

<sup>2</sup>The *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1932), Vol. IX, pp. 391f., repeats the reference to Cooper and the Trinity Hall dates of 1603 and 1606 (see further references below).

<sup>3</sup>*Athenae Cantabrigienses*, C. H. Cooper and T. Cooper (Cambridge, 1861), Vol. II, pp. 492f. Page 494 refers to Anderson's *History* (see below, Note #9), and the rest of the statement is based on it.

<sup>4</sup>*The Colonial Church in Virginia*, by Edward L. Goodwin (Milwaukee, Morehouse, 1927), pp. 280-81.

<sup>5</sup>In a letter to the author from C. W. Crawley, April 12, 1956, in which he most kindly reviews the matter in Venn, Cooper, Anderson, and *D.A.B.*, as well as re-examining the college records.

residence. We are compelled, therefore, to glean what we can from the early writers on the Jamestown settlement, and these prove more informative about Hunt's character and service than about his antecedents. The passage by Captain John Smith is well known, but is here reprinted for ease of examination:

On the 19th of December, 1606, we set saile [from Blackwall] but by unprosperous winds, were kept six weekes in the sight of England; all which time Maister Hunt our Preacher, was so weake and sicke, that few expected his recoverie. Yet although he were but 10 or 12 [20] miles from his habitation (the time we were in the Downes) and notwithstanding the stormie weather, nor the scandalous imputations (of some few, little better than Atheists, of the greatest ranke among us) suggested against him; all this could never force from him so much as a seeming desire to leave the busines; but preferred the service of God, in so good a voyage, before any affection to contest with his godlesse foes, whose disasterous designes (could they have prevailed) had even then overthrowne the businesse, so many discontents did then arise; had he not, with the water of patience, and his godly exhortations (but chiefly by his pure devoted examples) quenched those flames of envie and dissention."<sup>6</sup>

From this piece of rhetoric, it is hard to glean any facts about Hunt other than a testimony to his service and character. The ship, laboring in the Downs (I have seen a ship rescued in these waters in 1955), would have been about 15 miles in a direct line from Reculver but more nearly 52 miles from Heathfield. Vessels faced with a storm in the Channel would weather it in the Downs (off Deal on the east coast of Kent) rather than anywhere along the south coast.<sup>7</sup> Yet we shall see that Hunt was at this time in residence at Heathfield. It is only possible to suppose that Smith's rather vague reference arose from imperfect memory, or from casual conversations, in which Hunt spoke of his (former) "habitation," and Smith understood (or is taken to

<sup>6</sup>From the second part of *A Map of Virginia*, "The Proceedings of the English Colonie in Virginia," etc., Oxford, 1612, as printed in *Capt. John Smith, Works*, Part I, ed. by Edward Arber (Westminster, Constable, 1895). The two brackets enclose variations other than those of spelling found in the "reprint, with variations," in the same *Works*, Part II.

<sup>7</sup>Hence the irrelevance of the (Editor's?) note in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. XXV, 2 (April 1917) p. 161, with reference to Smith's distances when he says, "Heathfield is about that distance from the coast.

have understood) that Hunt was still living at Reculver.<sup>8</sup> It cannot be a reference to Heathfield and, so far as it goes, suggests Hunt's connection with Reculver. It does not, of course, tell us whether he were vicar or vicar's son.

One value of the passage is that it directed Anderson's attention to Kent as the area in which Hunt would have had a cure (it did not, naturally, suggest Sussex). In a footnote to this passage, Anderson writes,

"It is evident, from this expression, that Robert Hunt's habitation must have been in Kent; and I find in Hasted's History of Kent, iii, 640, that Robert Hunt, A.M., was appointed to the Vicarage of Reculver, Jan. 18. 1594, and that he resigned it in 1602. I cannot find, in the list of the Kentish Clergy at that time, any other Mr. Hunt who bore the same Christian name; and, coupling the date of the resignation above stated with the period at which the first pastor of the English Colony must have been contemplating his departure to America, I think it most probable that he was the Vicar of Reculver."<sup>9</sup>

Anderson would have been correct to say "he had been Vicar of Reculver." He is not informed on Hunt's activities between 1602 and 1606, and these four or five years are seemingly too long for simply

<sup>8</sup>A reference in the will (*see below*, Note #13), suggests that Hunt's brother, Stephen, lived at Reculver just before Robert left for Virginia. The "habitation" reference in Smith may point to a family estate at Reculver or to his boyhood home there. I have not had the opportunity as yet to test this. There are several Hunts or Huntess, two of them Roberts, mentioned in records available. In Duncombe (*see below*), p. 123, a lease dated Oct. 14, 1466, was granted from the hospital of Northgate at Canterbury to "Robert Hunt of Hothe, in Reculver, of two acres and three roods, called Brotherynlond, for ten years, rent 3s 4d." *Testamenta Cantiana* (London 1906), p. 167, lists, "Buried in the Church of Hothe at the end of the Trinity Altar, Robt Hunte, 1545. (Con. 19. fol. 62)." I found in the Hoath church records examined, dated 1576, "Richard Hunt the son of H(oward?) Hunt was christened the 14 day of July," and in the Reculver records that a Thomas Hunt, as churchwarden, signed the records of 1577-78, on Oct. 14, 1578; and also the entry under 1579, "Nicholas Hunt sonn of Thomas Hunt was christened 17 May 1579." Further search may confirm that there was a Hunt family of prominence in the neighborhood and, if he proves part of it, this may explain his having held the living and his apparent affluence.

<sup>9</sup>*The History of the Church of England in the Colonies*, by J. S. M. Anderson (2d ed. London, Rivington, 1856), Vol. I., pp. 169-170, Note #17. The only list of Reculver I have found is in Vol. IX of Hasted, and it starts much beyond our time. The list in Duncombe is quoted below. Until quite recent times, most references to the events and passages involved are dependent upon the careful work of Anderson.

contemplation of departure.<sup>10</sup> If Hunt were vicar of Reculver from 1594 to 1602, he could *not* have been the Cambridge graduate of 1606 (which the *Alumni* does not claim), and hence the necessity to make him the son of the vicar. We know of no son named Robert.<sup>11</sup>

What further evidence is there that Hunt was vicar of Reculver, and do the dates proposed fit the other facts and probabilities?

It is known that Robert Hunt was married in Canterbury in 1597 to Elizabeth Edwards of St. Margaret's (Parish) there.<sup>12</sup> In this case, a son of the marriage would have been not much more than eight years old when he left for Virginia, if the *Alumni* were correct. The Robert Hunt of Trinity Hall matriculated in 1603 and manifestly could not be the son of Robert Hunt, vicar of Reculver—unless he were the son of a previous marriage. Of this there is no evidence.

There is a will dated November 20, 1606, signed by Robert Hunt.<sup>13</sup> The signature is undoubtedly by the same hand as that of the vicar of Reculver and Hoath between 1594 and 1602, and that of the vicar of Heathfield from 1602 to 1605.<sup>14</sup>

It becomes necessary to establish the connection of the Robert Hunt of Reculver and Hoath with the vicar of Heathfield. The Heathfield appointment is confirmed in the *Virginia Magazine* (on evidence

<sup>10</sup>Smith says,

"Captaine Bartholomew Gosnold the first mover of this plantation, having many yeares solicited many of his friends, but found small assistants; at last prevailed with some Gentlemen, as Maister Edward Maria Wingfield, Captaine John Smith, and divers others, who depended a yeare upon his projects. . . . so that his Majestie by his letters patent, gave commission for establishing Councels, to direct here, and to governe and to execute there. To effect this, was spent another yeare; and by that time, three ships were provided." (*Works*, Part I, pp. 89f.)

This implies that two years were spent between the proposal and the manning of the expedition, namely from 1605 to the end of 1606. It seems unlikely that Hunt would have been involved when he left Reculver in 1602. He must have been at Heathfield when the project was suggested to him. Until the research of this century, nothing in the sources directed attention to Sussex.

<sup>11</sup>See the will, *below*.

<sup>12</sup>*Virginia Magazine* (cited above), XXV, 4, p. 416: "Elizabeth Edwards of St. Margaret's, Canterbury, born *circa* 1581, marr. lic. 9 March 1597 at St. Bredin, Canterbury."

<sup>13</sup>Printed in full in *Virginia Magazine*, XXV, 2, p. 161.

<sup>14</sup>I have had the pleasure of examining the signatures attached to the transcripts of the Reculver church for 1595–96, and of the "Hothe" church for the same year. My copies of these signatures convince me that they are written by the same person who signed the will and the Heathfield register (which I have as yet been unable to see). The will and Heathfield signatures are reproduced and compared in the *Virginia Magazine*, XXV, 4, p. 413, and the Reculver signatures given in the same, Vol. XXVI, 1, p. 81.



from the Chichester Diocesan Clergy Lists).<sup>15</sup> That this Robert Hunt signed the Heathfield parish register on every page from 1602 until June 23, 1605, is also established.<sup>16</sup> A letter from the present vicar confirms that the first entry signed is for a funeral on January 19, 1602/03. There is an entry, "Elizabeth daughter of Robert Hunt, Vicar of Heathfield, was baptized on February 4, 1602(3)." The last signature appears under the date April 30, 1606.<sup>17</sup> A contribution to the *Virginia Magazine* confirms Hunt's appointment from the Chichester sources as follows:

"Robert Hunt, clerk, Master of Arts, was instituted to the aforesaid Vicarage 5 Oct 45 Eliz. (anno. reg. Nuper. Regin. Eliz. Quadragesimo Quinto.)"<sup>18</sup>

The list of incumbents of Reculver, given by Duncombe, reads as follows:<sup>19</sup>

1584. 4 Jan. William Baldok.

1594. 18 Jan. Robert Hunt, on the death of Baldok.

1602. 5 Oct. Barnabas Knell, on the resignation of Hunt.

It is decidedly interesting that the date of Knell's appointment at Reculver and that of Hunt at Heathfield should coincide. The term "resignation" suggests that Hunt left for further work. This coincidence is not noted by writers on Hunt, but it is cleared up by a re-examination of the Lambeth Palace Library records, in which there is an item Duncombe's informant did not pass on.<sup>20</sup> The entries in question are:

<sup>15</sup>*Virginia Magazine*, XXV, 3, p. 297, under "Notes and Queries," thanks to a contribution by C. H. Mayo of Gillingham, Dorset. Reference is to the *Chichester Diocesan Clergy Lists* (G. Hennessy, 1900), p. 82.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*, XXV, 4, p. 413.

<sup>17</sup>Letter to the author from the Rev. Henry Bradburn, April 10, 1956.

<sup>18</sup>Vol. XXV, 4, p. 414. On p. 412, Mr. Culleton, the contributor, says, "I imagine this must mean the 44th of Elizabeth, 1602, for the 45th year of her reign was from 17 Nov. to 24 March 1603, when she died. You will note the bracketed 'anno reg nuper'."

<sup>19</sup>*The History and Antiquities of the Two Parishes of Reculver and Herne*, by Rev. John Duncombe; No. XVIII in *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica* (London, 1784). In the Advertisement, p. iii, the editor attributes the instruments and the lists of incumbents to a Dr. Ducarel, who extracted them from the Lambeth registers. (The term "incumbent" is here used, because in 1299 and 1310 the holder was "Rector," and from that time "Vicar.")

<sup>20</sup>Made at my request in order to confirm that no more positive identification of Robert Hunt was to be found beyond that given by Duncombe's Dr. Ducarel. I owe the transcripts of the records to the kindness of Dr. C. R. Dodwell, of the Lambeth Palace Library, in a letter of March 29, 1956.



- 18 Jan 1594/5. Collation of Master Robert Hunt, M.A., to the perpetual vicarage of Reculver.  
(Whitgift Register II. fol. 325).
- 30 Sept 1602. *Licence for an exchange between Robert Hunt M.A., Vicar of Reculver and Barnabas Knell, Vicar of Heathfield, Sussex.*  
(Whitgift Register III. fol. 272ab).
- 5 Oct 1602. Barnabas Knell collated to the vicarage of Reculver, vacant on the resignation of Robt. Hunt.  
(Whitgift Register III. fol. 272b)

The September entry (easily overlooked) explains why Hunt resigned Reculver and the coincidence of the dates. The Heathfield records show that Barnabas Knell had been vicar at Heathfield for only a year.<sup>21</sup> Why the exchange was effected, we do not know. It is still a not uncommon practice in the Church of England. As we shall see, it seems to have been an unfortunate move for Mr. Hunt's domestic happiness.

Thus the testimony of the exchange of livings and the comparison of the signatures suggest that the Robert Hunt of Reculver and the Robert Hunt of Heathfield and the signer of the will are the same. This makes unnecessary the conjectures represented in the Cambridge university alumni records. In addition to the evidence of the signatures, the dates involved in the will are in keeping. It was signed November 20, 1606. This was almost exactly one month before the expedition sailed and seems quite appropriate. The warrant to be mentioned later was signed at almost the same date, and testifies to a concentration of preparation at that time. The will testifies that Hunt had two children, the daughter whose baptism is recorded, and a younger son whose baptism seems to have left no record.

The will leaves thirty pounds (not a small sum in those days) to his daughter Elizabeth to be hers when she reaches the age of eighteen, and, in addition, a tenement Hunt purchased in Heathfield. Ten pounds is left to "my sonne Thomas to be paide him at the age of one and twenty years," along with a tenement and twelve acres of land in the parish of Warbleton, bought from a resident of Heathfield. Residuary legatee and sole executrix of the will is "Elizabeth my wiffe." The name affords another, if slight, connection of the Reculver Hunt and the vicar of Heathfield.<sup>21-a</sup>

<sup>21</sup>Letter from the present vicar.

<sup>21-a</sup>See above, Note #12.

In this respect, the will explains the cryptic reference by Dr. Starr in the *Dictionary of American Biography*,<sup>22</sup> and may possibly suggest a reason for the exchange of livings and the "scandalous imputations" in Smith's account of the delay in the Downs. The passage in the will provides that if his wife shall be unfaithful during his life, or if before the proving of the will, she cohabit with a certain person (named) of Heathfield,

"Then she shall be excluded from being my Executrix and shall loose all other benefitt of this my will, and in her place I appoint Elizabeth my daughter to whom the residue of my Goods etc. And then I make my Brother Steven Hunt, now or late of Reculver, co. Kent, yeoman the onelie Overseer of trust."<sup>23</sup>

We can hardly doubt there must have been some grounds for this provision, but all we know of Robert Hunt's character, the fact that he made his wife sole legatee of what seems, by the standards of the times, to have been a considerable estate, and the fact that the provision was not put into effect, in that his widow probated the will, suggest that we cannot ascribe to domestic difficulties alone Hunt's interest in the expedition. The will suggests that Hunt may have been well-to-do enough to contribute to the enterprise, and to be considered a gentleman among the adventurers. I suspect that were more known of his family and connections, he may prove to have had close connections with some of the prime movers.

The date of the probate of this will is given as July 14, 1608, "by Elizabeth the Relict and Executrix named."<sup>24</sup> The sources suggest that Hunt did not long survive after the planting of the Jamestown colony. The most probable date for the first Communion service is June 21, 1607, on the eve of Newport's departure, and as a sequel to the reconciliation of Captain Smith and the other members of the council. In the fire of January 1608, "Good Maister Hunt our preacher, lost all his library, and al (*sic*) that he had but the cloathes on his back, yet none ever see him repine at his losse."<sup>25</sup> Smith speaks of "his memorable death," but there is no record of the date. For the news of the event to have reached England so that the will could be probated, it would seem necessary for Hunt to have died two

<sup>22</sup>Vol. IX, p. 391: article by H. E. Starr. "Certain conditions imposed upon his bequest to her indicate an unhappy state of affairs in the home, which may have had something to do with his desire to go to America."

<sup>23</sup>*Virginia Magazine*, XXV, 2, p. 161.

<sup>24</sup>*Ibid.*, XXV, 4, p. 413.

<sup>25</sup>*A Map of Virginia*, Second Part, *Works*, Part I, p. 103.

months or so before July 1608. Captain Newport arrived back at Jamestown early in 1608 (Jan 8th?), and left for England on April 10th, arriving in England in May. Possibly he carried with him the sad news. We can only assume that Robert Hunt died between January and April in 1608, less than a year after his work at Jamestown began.

The surmise that Hunt solemnized the first marriage at Jamestown in December 1608, or the month following, is described by Anderson as "mere conjecture."<sup>26</sup> The probate of the will makes Hunt's participation impossible. A further hint of his death is presented by the record of his successor's appointment at Heathfield. The date of institution is given as September 14, 1609.<sup>27</sup> This was evidently delayed, since the Chichester Clergy Lists record Robert Say, M.A., as succeeding Hunt in 1608.<sup>28</sup> We should assume that Hunt did not resign his living when he left for Virginia, and the will implies his wife would continue to live at Heathfield.

The identification in *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, derived from *Athenae Cantabrigienses*, is, in turn, clearly based, with its account of the chaplain, on Anderson's *History*, to which it makes reference.<sup>28-a</sup> The facts that have been recited show this identification to be well-nigh impossible, and the vice-master of Trinity Hall attributes the error to Cooper.<sup>29</sup>

Of Robert Hunt, Anderson says,

"To his hands was committed the high and holy work of consecrating to God's glory the settlement of the British name in America; and all that is recorded of his ministry proves that the choice of such a man for such an office was made in a faithful spirit. It is much to be deplored that the minutes of proceedings of the Virginia Council at home have been lost. . . . It is highly probable that they would have furnished us with many particulars concerning Robert Hunt, and the manner of his appointment."<sup>30</sup>

His appointment must have involved a certain amount of discussion, and the records imply a careful preparation for the establishment of the Church in the colony. They also suggest that the fears of popish plots, which had agitated Elizabeth's reign and which were

<sup>26</sup>*History*, Vol. I, p. 182.

<sup>27</sup>*Virginia Magazine*, XXV, 4, p. 412.

<sup>28</sup>*Ibid.*, XXV, 3, p. 297.

<sup>28-a</sup>See above, Notes #3 and #9.

<sup>29</sup>Letter, see above, Note #5. For a conjecture about Hunt's college, see below, "Appended Note."

<sup>30</sup>*History*, Vol. I, pp. 166-167.

scarcely abated, and the disturbances caused by Puritan separatists, were together a factor in the selection. There was a desire to keep both difficulties from spreading to the plantation where they might be aggravated. The history of Plymouth and of Massachusetts Bay is sufficient comment.<sup>31</sup> The consultations involved perhaps explain why Smith and Wingfield differ in the credit for the appointment, though both agree that Hunt went with the authority of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Since, as we shall see, Reculver was an archiepiscopal living, exempt from the archdeacon, we may assume that the archbishop may easily have discovered anything he wished to know about the previous incumbent.

Edward Maria Wingfield, the first president of the Council in Virginia, uses the appointment to help in the justification of his own undertakings:

If I may now, at the last, presume upon your favours, I am an honourable suitor that your owne love of truth will vouchsafe to releave me from all false asperstions happining since I embarked me into this affaire of *Virginia*. For my first worke (which was to make a right choise of a spirituall Pastor), I appeale to the remembrance of my Lord of *Caunterbury* his grace, who gave me very gracious audience in my request. And the world knoweth whome I took with me: truly, in my opinion, a man not any waie to be touched with the rebellious humors of a popish spirit, nor blemished with ye least suspi-tion of a factious scismatick, whereof I had a speciall care.<sup>32</sup>

Captain John Smith, speaking of the support of the churches in the colony by unstable tobacco, points out that Jamestown was assigned a good income and given to Prebendary Hakluyt, and that Hakluyt therefore acted for the Virginia Company:

But *Iames* towne was 500. pounds a yeare, as they say, appointed by the Councell here, allowed by the Councell there,

<sup>31</sup>See the words, "rebellious humors of a popish spirit," and "factious scismatick," in the Wingfield passage below. It was necessary, for example, in the oath administered to colonists at this time, to require them to renounce any absolution by the pope from the keeping of the oath, and to ignore any papal declaration affecting the right of the monarch to reign and to command allegiance. See *The Records of the Virginia Co. of London*, ed. by Kingsbury (U. S. Government Printing Office, 1933), Vol. III, p. 5.

<sup>32</sup>This document was brought to the attention of historians by Anderson, who found it in the Lambeth Library catalogued as anonymous, but was able to identify the author (see *History*, Vol. I, p. 167). It was evidently written for Wingfield to sign, but the signature is missing. It is endorsed, "Auct. Ed. Ma. Wingfield." Lambeth MS. 250. fol. 392v., confirmed by Dr. Dodwell in his letter (Note #20). It is published in *Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society* ("Archaeologia Americana") Vol. IV. 1860, pp. 76ff., and may also be found in Smith's *Works*, Part 1, pp. lxxivff. It is entitled, "A Discourse of Virginia."

and confirmed by the Archbishop of Canterbury his Grace, Primate and Metropolitan of all *England*, An. 1605. to master *Richard Hakluyt* Prebend of *Westminster*: who by his authority sent master *Robert Hunt*, an honest, religious, and courageous Divine; during whose life our factions were oft qualified, our wants and greatest extremities so comforted, that they seemed easie in comparison of what we endured after his memorable death.<sup>33</sup>

As Anderson observes, "It is evident . . . that not only was Robert Hunt a man well and favourably known to the people of England, but further, that Archbishop Bancroft was consulted in the matter of his appointment."<sup>34</sup> It may not have been so much the people of England who knew him as the ecclesiastical world. It would seem to exclude a man just graduated from the university.

The Wingfield passage claims that he made the choice and that he took Hunt to see Archbishop Bancroft. Wingfield was seeking to use the circumstance as evidence of his own intelligence and devotion—in itself a significant, if indirect, tribute to Hunt. Smith's account of the matter is more accurate, but may not entirely exclude some part played by Wingfield. Dr. G. MacLaren Brydon has observed that Hakluyt was the rector of Jamestown and that Hunt was his vicar.<sup>35</sup> There is a possibility that Wingfield may have in some way brought Hunt to Hakluyt's attention and may have taken him for an audience with the archbishop in order to confirm Hakluyt's appointment and to secure the archbishop's blessing.

Dr. Brydon's view of the matter is, of course, confirmed both by Smith's account and by a patent dated November 21, 1606 (less than a month before the sailing date), which grants permission to both Hakluyt and Hunt to hold livings in Virginia in plurality with a living or livings in England. The document (in an abstract from the Latin) provides:

The King to Richard Hakluyt clerk prebendary both in the Collegiate Church of St. Peter Westminster and in the cathedral church of Holy Trinity Bristol and rector of the parish church of Wetheringsett co. suff. dioc. Norwich and one of the chaplains of the Savoy Hospital co. Middlesex, *and to Robert*

<sup>33</sup>*Works*, Part II, p. 958; chapter XIV, "Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters of New England" (1631).

<sup>34</sup>*History*, Vol. I, p. 168. Whitgift was archbishop to 1603 (under him Hunt served at Reculver), and Bancroft thereafter when the appointment was made.

<sup>35</sup>HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH, Vol. XI (1942), p. 65. Hakluyt became prebendary of Westminster in 1602 and a member of the Virginia Company in 1606. This again suggests that Hunt's interest came while he was at Heathfield.

*Hunt clerk M.A. vicar of the parish church of Heathfield co. Suss. dioc. Chichester—*

Whereas Richard and Robert, together with Thomas Gates and George Somers knts., Edward Maria Wingfeilde, Thomas Hannam, Rawleigh Gilbert Esq., William Parker, George Popham, and others had the king's authority to make a habitation and plantation and lead forth a colony to those parts of America commonly called Virginia . . . and are about to set forth shortly for these parts; and whereas the King has heard by trustworthy information of the great ignorance in those parts; now the King grants to Richard and Robert full and free license to go thither. . . . "And that you may the more freely and better watch and perform the ministry and preaching of God's word in those parts, you and both of you may leave whatever parish churches benefices prebends and ecclesiastical dignities and cures and hospital Chaplancies now held by you and both of you within our kingdom of England. . . ." And they may continue to take the profits of their said incumbencies in England; and the King grants them dispensation to take and to hold, together with the said incumbencies in England, "one or more benefices, church dignities, or cures in the said parts of Virginia or America."<sup>36</sup>

This warrant explains how Hunt was at first to be supported in Virginia, and how his family were to be maintained in England, and why they continued to live at Heathfield.

The background of the appointment is probably Hunt's previous incumbency at Reculver. This was an ancient and historical parish, though in Hunt's time both it and the neighborhood seem to have been in a state of decline. It was extra-diocesan, exempt from the supervision of the archdeacon and under the direct control of the archbishop.<sup>37</sup> This explains why information concerning it must be sought at Lambeth rather than at Canterbury.<sup>38</sup> The ancient connections of the Reculver parish are with the Roman occupation, the first Christian king of Kent, the archbishops of Canterbury and with the monastery of St. Augustine.

<sup>36</sup>Published in *Richard Hakluyt and The English Voyages*, by G. B. Parks (New York, American Geographical Society, 1928), p. 256. The portions above marked as quotations are so marked in Parks' abstract and seem to indicate direct translation. I have introduced the italics.

<sup>37</sup>*The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent*, by Edward Hasted (Canterbury, 2nd ed., 1800), Vol. IX, p. 119.

<sup>38</sup>For details of the administration of the archiepiscopal diocese, see *Canterbury Administration*, by I. J. Churchill (London, S.P.C.K., 1933). For list of exemptions from "the Black Book of the Archdeacon," including Reculver, see Vol. I, p. 109, n.3.



The site is located at the northwestern end of a former waterway between the Isle of Thanet and the mainland. This area has more than once proved a tempting landing place for invaders, and here St. Augustine landed in 597. The Romans fortified the channel at each end as early as 205. At the sea end stood the tremendous fort of Richborough, now represented by impressive ruins and trenches, and at the Thames end stood the fort and camp of "Regulbium" (Reculver). In the course of centuries, the sea has reclaimed most of the Roman and Saxon site, and older writers speak of the Roman coins recovered from the foreshore. The channel is now gone and Thanet is no longer an island. In modern times, a sea wall has been maintained by the government to protect the ruins of the Reculver church, and since 1925 it has been designated an "Ancient Monument." The encroachments of the estuary led to the demolition of Hunt's former church in 1805.<sup>39</sup> The towers were repaired and taken over by Trinity House to secure their continued value as an aid to navigation.

The size and comparative grandeur of the church which formerly existed is explained by its history before it became only a parish church. There seems no reason to doubt the tradition that after his conversion King Ethelbert gave his Canterbury palace to St. Augustine for his monastery (Christ Church, now the Cathedral close—to be distinguished from St. Augustine's outside the walls). Bede simply says the king "granted his teachers a property of their own in his capital of Canterbury." Hasted describes the transfer:

"And so great was the respect and esteem which the king entertained for St. Augustine and the profession which he had embraced that he gave him his royal palace at Canterbury, as an habitation for himself and his disciples; and, retiring to Reculver, about eight miles distant from thence, built another palace there out of the ruins of the old Roman building at that place."<sup>40</sup>

Regulbium then became Raculf and later Raculf-cestre.

It ceased to be the center of the court in 669, when King Egbert gave the site to the priest Bassa for a monastery. It now became Ra-

<sup>39</sup>Described by an authoritative guide as "a most outrageous piece of vandalism" (*The Little Guides: Kent*). The parish now uses as its church, St. Mary's, Hillborough, a mile away, into which interesting fragments from Reculver have been built. Two other valuable shafts have been recovered and are now in the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral. See Sir Charles Piers, "Reculver: its Saxon Church and Cross," in *Archaeologia Cantiana*, LXXVII, 1927.

<sup>40</sup>Hasted, *History*, Vol. I, p. 72. For further details of Reculver history, see Vol. IX, pp. 109-125 and *passim*. For transcripts of ancient documents, see Duncombe (*above*, Note #19). The quotation from Bede is from Book I, chapter 26.

culf-minster. In 949, the abbey was given by King Edred to Christ Church monastery at Canterbury under Archbishop Odo. It probably continued as a religious house until the Norman conquest, when William confirmed it to Archbishop Lanfranc.

Inroads into the Reculver resources soon began. In 1084, Lanfranc established two hospitals for lepers: St. Nicholas at Harbledown near Canterbury, and St. John in the city. These were endowed by an appropriation of 140 pounds income a year from the manors of Reculver and Boctun-under-Blean. In 1180, by a deed of Archbishop Richard, "a pension of 20 pounds" a year was settled on the hospitals, "to be paid out of the church of Reculver, by the consent of Hugh the rector, in addition to the yearly sum of 140 pounds before granted by archbishop Lanfranc, the founder of those hospitals, out of his manors of Raculfe and Boctun."<sup>41</sup> The grant was confirmed in 1355.<sup>42</sup>

The parish had attached to it churches on the Isle of Thanet and in the neighborhood. The records show periods of strife between mother-parish and daughters, especially when the neighboring parishioners were freed from attendance but were required still to keep the Reculver roof in repair. The parish at Hothe (Hoath) was the most closely attached, the vicar of Reculver enjoying its tithes and being held responsible for its services, which he sometimes neglected. The two churches were both under Hunt, and his signature appears on the records of each.

During Hunt's incumbency, in 1597, the Convocation of Canterbury formulated a constitution which ordered "parchment registers to be provided, the old paper registers to be transcribed therein, and copies sent to the registries of the Bishop and Archdeacon."<sup>43</sup> The Hoath and Reculver transcripts in the Christ Church gateway of the Cathedral are signed by Robert Hunt (the Hoath records, "Rob: Hunt, Vicar"; the Reculver records, "Rob: Hunt, vicarius"). The latter, on the first page signed by Hunt, are inscribed, "The bill of Christenings, Burials and Marriages for the parish of Reculver from the feast of St. Michael

<sup>41</sup>See document in Duncombe, p. 129.

<sup>42</sup>Hasted, *History*, Vol. IX, p. 13. Hasted, writing in 1799, adds that the value of money having declined, the income was made up out of archiepiscopal alms.

<sup>43</sup>*An Inventory of the Parish Records in the Diocese of Canterbury*, ed. by C. E. Woodruff (Canterbury, 1922). Woodruff notes, p. 98, under Hoath, "entries from 1554-1598 being transcripts made and attested by Robert Hunt, Vicar." The Reculver and Hoath transcripts in the care of the Diocesan Registry at Canterbury begin with 1564(5). He also notes that the earliest register for Reculver begins in 1602, the year that Hunt left.



1595 until the said feast 1596." They are written, as is the case with the Hoath records, in a hand other than Hunt's.

The parish is in "the deanery of Westbere" and the archdeaconry of Canterbury (though exempt). Geographically, it is in "the hundred of Blengate," and is listed by Lambarde in "the lathe of St. Augustines, otherwise called the lathe of Hedebinth."<sup>44</sup> The hundred of Blengate was attached to St. Augustine's Abbey until the dissolution when it reverted to the crown.<sup>45</sup> Duncombe explains, "The liberty of the Archbishop of Canterbury claims over the manor of Reculver, and the liberty of St. Augustine over the rest of the parish, as being in the hundred of Blengate, which belonged to that Abbey." In Domesday, however, Reculver is listed as a hundred in itself: "In Roculf Hund. Ipse Archieps. ten. Roculf."<sup>46</sup>

After having been a royal palace and perhaps burial place,<sup>47</sup> a monastic institution, the possessor of several chantries and the mother church of surrounding parishes, the parish declined in the post-Reformation period until in 1588, "it was valued at 50 pounds, communicants one hundred and sixty-five." Lambarde's work was written before Hunt's time and republished while he was vicar. He says, "The present estate of Reculvers (as you may see) deserveth not many words." After briefly recording its history, he adds, "In which behalfe, Reculvers (how poore and simple soever otherwise) hath, (as you see) somewhat whereof to vaunte itself. . . ."<sup>48</sup>

This contemporary of the Virginia Company's first chaplain could not suppose that Reculver would some day, nearly four centuries later, hold interest for a Church-people three thousand miles away. It is a sad fact that Robert Hunt's church, and the church in which Pocahontas was buried at Gravesend in 1617, both in Kent, have each been destroyed. It is not inappropriate to note that the twin twelfth century towers ("The Reculvers" or "The Two Sisters"), which survive and

<sup>44</sup>*A Perambulation of Kent*, by William Lambarde. Preface dated 1570. First edition 1576. The page numbers refer to the London edition of 1596. (Harvard Library has a reprinted edition of 1826). The designations are necessary in order to find the passages on Reculver in old books which follow the ancient divisions. "The whole shyre hath long been, and is at this day, divided into five parts, commonly called Lathes, not altogether equal. . . ." p. 9.

<sup>45</sup>Hasted, *History*, Vol. IX, p. 67.

<sup>46</sup>Duncombe, pp. 66-67.

<sup>47</sup>Hasted, *History*, Vol. IX, p. 120. This may explain why the four kings who succeeded Ethelbert are buried in St. Augustine's Abbey, but no grave is found in the ruins for Ethelbert.

<sup>48</sup>Lambarde, p. 260. Of other amenities he says, "The Oysters that be dredged at Reculver, are reputed as farre to passe those at Whitstaple, as those of Whitstaple doe surmount the rest of this shyre, in savorie saltnesse."

are visible from so far up and down the Thames estuary, have guided ships sailing for America ever since Hunt last saw them in December 1606 on his ill-fated voyage. The deeply moving fact emerges that the first known celebrant of the Holy Communion in what was to become the United States of America had not long before been in charge of the church which developed out of the seventh century structure and on the site of the palace and place of worship of St. Augustine's royal and most notable convert.

Neither Robert Hunt nor St. Augustine were the first missionaries in their respective spheres, but each has a special importance for the history of the Church. That in Reculver they find a link across the centuries testifies again to the continuity of our own Church with the Christian past. Churchmen from these shores could well make Reculver a place of pilgrimage. When that is inconvenient, they could note the columns from Hunt's Kentish church in the crypt of the Canterbury Cathedral, and there meditate on the significance of his brief career in the service of the Church in America. He was in a real sense a martyr to the Christian cause and worth a recollection in the cathedral of the martyr of an earlier age and different conflict.

The celebration of the first Communion service and the other brief references to Robert Hunt's work, the more valuable because they are incidental, are here reprinted as eloquent in themselves. From everyone he won golden opinions, and both Captain John Smith and Edward Wingfield turned to him in their own distresses. That is perhaps the best testimony of all.

The description by Captain Smith is not of a particular service, but general:

When I went first to *Virginia*, I well remember wee did hang an awning (which is an old saile) to three or foure trees to shadow us from the Sunne, our walls were rales of wood, our seats unhewed trees till we cut planks, our Pulpit a bar of wood nailed to two neighbouring trees. In foule weather we shifted into an old rotten tent; for we had a few better, and this came by the way of adventure for new. This was our Church, till wee built a homely thing like a barne, set upon Cratchets, covered with rafts, sedge, and earth; so was also the walls: the best of our houses of the like curiosity; but the most part farre much worse workmanship, that could neither well defend wind nor raine.

This is the setting. Chaplain Hunt was kept busy by the many funerals and by daily services with sermons on Sundays, to say nothing

of the consultations between factions and his normal share in the arduous work and guard duty of a pioneer camp in hostile country.

Captain Smith continues:

Yet wee had daily Common Prayer morning and evening, every Sunday two Sermons, and every three moneths the holy Communion, till our Minister died . . . and surely God did most mercifully heare us, till the continual inundations of mistaking directions, factions, and numbers of unprovided Libertines neere consumed us all, as the Israelites in the wilderness.<sup>49</sup>

He mentions also the first Communion service and the poor church which, when the first supply came, was built by the sailors whose attention to their work was distracted by their lust for gold.

Many were the mischiefs that daily sprung from their ignorant (yet ambitious) spirits; but the good Doctrine and exhortation of our Preacher Master *Hunt* reconciled them, and caused Captaine *Smith* to be admitted of the Council.

The next day all received the Communion, the day following the Salvages voluntarily desired peace, and Captaine *Newport* returned for England with news. . . .

. . . the Mariners might say, they did helpe to build such a golden Church that we can say the raine washed neere to nothing in 14. dayes.<sup>50</sup>

Wingfield has the following references in addition to the one already quoted:

Now was the common store of oyle, vinigar, sack, and aquavite all spent, saving twoe Gallons of each: the sack reserved for the Communion table. . . .

While he was prisoner in the "*Pynnasse*," he received a visit from Captain Smith and others:

I added further, that upon Sundaie, if the weathiar were faire, I would be at the sermon . . . Sundaie proved not faire: I went not to the Sermon.

Captayne *Newport* haveing landed, lodged and refreshed his men ymployed some of them about a faire stoare house, others about a stove, and his Maryners aboute a Church; all which workes they finished cherefully and in short tyme.

<sup>49</sup>"Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters," chapter XIV, *Works*, Part II, pp. 957f.

<sup>50</sup>*A Map of Virginia*, Second Part ("Proceedings"), *Works*, Part I, pp. 93, 104.

In the part of his manuscript headed *Finis*, he defends himself against several charges, including, "That I ame an Atheist, because I carried not a Bible with me, and because I did forbid the preacher to preache." He explains how his Bible failed to reach Virginia, and explains the charge about forbidding the preacher to preach as follows:

Two or three sundayes morninges, the Indians gave us allarums at our towne. By that tymes they weare answered, the place about us well discovered, and our devyne service ended, the daie was farr spent. The preacher did aske me if it weare my pleasure to have a sermon: he said hee was prepared for it. I made answere, that our men were weary and hungry, and that he did see the tyme of the daie farr past (for at other tymes hee never made such question, but the service finished, he began his sermon); and that if it pleased him, wee would spare him till some other tyme. I never failed to take such noates by wrighting out of his doctrine as my capacity could comprehend, unless some raynie day hindred my indeavour.<sup>51</sup>

That a chaplain of Hunt's standard and proof was included in the expedition is a reminder of the fact, to which surviving records of the first settlements and the exhortations to undertake them testify, that a religious interest and motive was by no means absent as a factor in the colonization of Virginia, which is to be celebrated this three hundred and fiftieth year.

## Appended Note

Starr, in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, states (IX, 391):

"While no conclusive proof is at hand, dates and other circumstances make it possible that he is the person referred to in the *Alumni Oxonienses* as, 'Hunte, Robert of Hants, pleb. Magdalen Hall matric. 14 Feb. 1588/9, aged 20. B.A. 23 Nov. 1592, M.A. 4 July 1595.'" (Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxon.*, 1891, Vol. II. p. 772.)

Graduation in 1592 would fit an appointment as vicar in 1594 and marriage in 1597, when he would have been, in turn, 25 and 28 years old. He would then be 37 years old when he left for Virginia, an age of maturity in those days.

No Robert Hunt of suitable date is referred to in *Athenae Oxonienses*, though the Jamestown Hunt well deserves a place in it if he

<sup>51</sup>"A Discourse of Virginia": Smith's *Works*, Part I, pp. lxxviii, lxxxiv, lxxxvi, lxxxviii.

is an Oxford graduate. I have not included Starr's identification in the article for two reasons:—

(I) There seems to be some doubt about the name.

In the *Register of Oxford University*, Vol. IV, part iii, p. 173, the entry reads,

Magd. H. Hunt, Robert. adm. B.A. 23 Nov. 1592. det ("Richard") 1592/3. lic. M.A. ("Robert") 4 July 1595.

However, in the *Magdalen College Register*, 1873, Vol. IV, p. 222, is the entry,

Hunt, Robert, res. 1585. Supplicates for B.A. 28 Feb. 1583-4. 4 Dec 1584 grace granted.

The *Alumni Oxonienses*, 1891, Vol. II, p. 772, gives the following entry preceeding the one quoted by Starr (above):

Hunt, Robert, demy Magdalen Coll. 1580-5, B.A. sup. 28 Feb. 1583-4. grace granted 4 Dec. following.

Then follows the "Hunte, Robert, of Hants" entry, and after it the words, "one of these names Vicar of Reculver, Kent, 1595." These are transcripts from earlier college records, and of the two, Hunt and Hunte, there seems as good reason to choose the first—the name is correct and there is no intrusion of "Richard." The absence of an M.A. is not insuperable, as that degree is normally given without further residence and the records are not necessarily complete.

(II) The second Hunt (M.A.1595) seems firmly attached to Hampshire. In view of the frequent occurrence of the name in Kent in general and in the Reculver region in particular, and in view of the Smith reference to his "habitation," I am reluctant to accept the Hunt from Hampshire until more is known about the Hunts of Kent. The B.A. of Magdalen College, 1584, might well have come from Kent. He would not have been too old in 1597 to marry (say 35-36), and would have been 44-45 in 1606, making reasonable Wingfield's observation that he was already well known.

There seems sufficient ground for Oxford to claim Robert Hunt, now that Cambridge has given him up. (I am neither Oxford nor Cambridge, but University of Virginia!)

C. W. F. S.

# The Foundations of Church and State in Virginia\*

By William Stevens Perry†



N Friday, the 19th of December, 1606, an expedition consisting of three ships, the "Susan Constant," of one hundred tons' burden; the "Godspeed,"<sup>1</sup> of forty; and the "Discovery," a pinnacle of twenty, sailed from Blackwall for Virginia, under the command of Captain Christopher Newport,<sup>2</sup> "a mariner well practiced for the waterrie parts of America."<sup>3</sup> The holydays were spent upon the coast, as unpropitious winds detained them for six weeks in sight of England,—

"All which time," proceeds the chronicler of the voyage, "Mr. Hunt\* our preacher was so weake and sicke, that few expected his recovery. Yet although he were but twentie myles from his habitation (the time we were in the Downes), and notwithstanding the stormy weather, nor the scandalous imputations (of some few, little better than Atheists, of the greatest ranke amongst vs), suggested against him, all this could never force from him so much as a seeming desire to leaue the busines, but preferred the service of God in so good a voyage, before any affection to contest with his godlesse foes, whose disastorous

\*Reprinted from *The History of the American Episcopal Church, 1587-1883* (2 vols., Boston, 1885), pp. 42-63. This work, long out of print, still contains, in the opinion of the editor, the best account of the initial beginnings of the Church in Virginia. It has been edited with additional notes by the editor, the latter being enclosed in brackets. Perry's original notes are without brackets.

†WILLIAM STEVENS PERRY (1832-1898), second Bishop of Iowa, 1876-1898, was historiographer of The Episcopal Church from 1868 until his death. See *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIV, 495-496.—*Editor's note.*

<sup>1</sup>[Perry has *Good-speed* as the name of the second ship. *Godspeed* was the correct name, and this is one of very few places where we have changed Perry's text.—*Editor's note.*]

[The *Susan Constant* was under the command of Christopher Newport; the *Godspeed*, under Bartholomew Gosnold; and the *Discovery*, under John Ratcliffe. These captains will be further identified below.—*Editor's note.*]

<sup>2</sup>[CHRISTOPHER NEWPORT (1565?-1617) had had experience in sailing and fighting in the West Indies. He made five voyages to Virginia between 1606 and 1611. From 1612 until his death, Newport was employed by the East India Company. See *Dictionary of National Biography*, XL, 356 (hereafter referred to as *D.N.B.*).—*Editor's note.*]

<sup>3</sup>Smith's *Gen. Hist.* I, p. 150, Richmond ed.—*Perry's note.*

<sup>4</sup>[For the Rev. ROBERT HUNT, see Dr. Smith's article in this issue, immediately preceding this one.—*Editor's note.*]



designes (could they haue prevailed) had even then overthrown this businesse, so many discontents did then arise, had he not with the water of patience, and his godly exhortations (but chiefly by his true devoted example) quenched those flames of envie, and dissention."<sup>5</sup>

Selected by the first president of the colony, Edward-Maria Wingfield,<sup>6</sup> with the approval of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the celebrated Dr. Bancroft,<sup>7</sup> as "a man not anywaie to be touched w<sup>th</sup> the rebellious humors of a popish spirit, nor blemished w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> least suspicion of a factious scismatick,"<sup>8</sup> this first missionary priest of the Church of England resident on our American shores, whose name is preserved, well deserved the eulogium of the famous Captain Smith,<sup>9</sup> who further speaks of him as

"an honest, religious, and courageous Divine; during whose life our factions were oft qualified, our wants and greatest extremities so comforted, that they seemed easie in comparison of what we endured after his memorable death."<sup>10</sup>

Robert Hunt, A.M., who thus with the concurrence, and under the authority, of the primate of all England, went forth on the Church's mission to Virginia, and whose home appears, from Smith's "Historie," to have been in Kent, was doubtless the Vicar of Reculver, whose appointment to that cure was dated Jan. 18, 1594, and whose resignation of the same took place in 1602, at which time he appears associated with Gosnold,<sup>11</sup> Smith, and Wingfield, in plans for the settlement of Virginia.<sup>12</sup> Well may the historian of the United States record his

<sup>5</sup>Smith's Gen. Hist. I, p. 150, Richmond ed.—*Perry's note*.

<sup>6</sup>[EDWARD MARIA WINGFIELD (1560?-1613?) was considered unfitted for the post of president of the colony, and returned to England in April, 1608. His *Discourse of Virginia* in manuscript was discovered by James S. M. Anderson in the Lambeth Palace Library between 1845 and 1856, and used by him in the second edition of his *History of the Church of England in the Colonies* (London, 1856). The *Discourse* was edited and published in 1860 in *Archaeologia Americana*, IV, 102ff. On Wingfield, see *D.N.B.*, LXII, 183-184.—*Editor's note*.]

<sup>7</sup>[RICHARD BANCROFT (1544-1610) was archbishop of Canterbury, 1604-1610. See *D.N.B.*, III, 108-112.—*Editor's note*.]

<sup>8</sup>Wingfield's "Discourse of Virginia," in "Archaeologia Americana," IV, p. 102.—*Perry's note*.

<sup>9</sup>[JOHN SMITH (1580-1631). See any encyclopedia, or *D.N.B.*, LIII, 70-73, or *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVII, 194-296.—*Editor's note*.]

<sup>10</sup>Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters, p. 33.—*Perry's note*.

<sup>11</sup>[BARTHOLOMEW GOSNOLD was captain of the *Godspeed*. Out of 105 left in Jamestown by Newport when he returned to England, 50 were buried before the end of September 1607. Among them was Gosnold, who died August 22nd. See *D.N.B.*, XXII, 254-255.—*Editor's note*.]

<sup>12</sup>Vide Anderson's "History of the Colonial Church," 2d ed., I, pp. 169, 170.—*Perry's note*.

[See Dr. Smith's article above, in this issue.—*Editor's note*.]



opinion of this excellent man as "a clergyman of persevering fortitude and modest worth."<sup>13</sup> There was need of every Christian virtue in the spiritual guide of so disorderly and ill-assorted a company as the little fleet of Newport bore to the Virginian shores. They were embarked on an expedition to found an empire in the West; but the composition of the colony was such that "gentlemen" were largely in excess of artificers and, unlike the "Colony of Roanoke," there were no women to bind in families, and cement in heart and home-likes, these founders of a commonwealth.

The long and tedious voyage was productive of discontent and dissensions, and it was not till Sunday, the third after Easter, April 26, that the voyagers entered the magnificent bay of the Chesapeake. Several weeks were spent in selecting a site for the settlement, but at length, on Wednesday, the 13th day of May, the peninsula of Jamestown, about fifty miles above the mouth of the river, already named in honor of the king, was determined upon. This decision made, the members of the "Council" designated in the sealed orders, which were opened immediately on the first landing of the expedition, were sworn into office, with the exception of Smith, who had aroused the ill-will of the chief of the colonists; and Edward-Maria Wingfield was chosen president.

Quaintly does the chronicler proceed:

"Now falleth every man to worke, the Councell contriue the fort, the rest cut down trees to make place to pitch their tents; some provide clappbord to relade the ships, some make gardens, some nets, etc. . . . The President's overweening jealousy would admit no exercise at armes, or fortification, but the boughs of trees cast together in the forme of a halfe moone, by the extraordinary paines and diligence of Captain Kendall."<sup>14</sup>

Agreeably to the directions of the council in England, on Thursday, the 21st of May, Captain Newport, with five gentlemen, [George] Percy,<sup>14-a</sup> brother of the Earl of Northumberland, Archer Smith Brooks, and Wotton, four "mariners," and fourteen sailors, ascended the James river in the "shallop" as far as the falls of the river, where Richmond now stands. The record of this exploration remains, and its quaint recital of the daily progress of this little band amidst the forest glades and along the water-courses of their new home, proves that Newport

<sup>13</sup>Bancroft's "United States," I, p. 118.—*Perry's note.*

<sup>14</sup>Smith's "General Historie," Richmond ed., I, p. 157.—*Perry's note.*

<sup>14-a</sup>[See below, Note #57.—*Editor's note.*]

and his men were not unmindful of the fact that they were both Christians and Englishmen. Full of interest is the mention of "May 24, Sunday, Whit-Sunday"; telling of their kindly intercourse with the savages, and their simple banquet of "two peeces of porke to be sodd ashore with pease," with "beere, aquavite, and sack," to which the savage chieftain, Powhatan,<sup>14-b</sup> was an invited guest. As the day declined, they raised a cross "upon one of the little ilets at the mouth of the falls," with the inscription, "Iacobus, Rex, 1607," and Newport's name below. "At the erecting hereof, we prayed for our Kyng, and our owne prosperous succes in this his actyon: and proclaymed him kyng with a great shoute."<sup>15</sup> To the narrative of this expedition which its gallant leader trusted would "tend to the glory of God, his majestie's renowne, our cuntrye's profytt, our owne advauncing, and fame to all posterity,"<sup>16</sup> is appended, "A Brief Description of the People," from which we extract the following incidental proof of the religious character of the explorers:—

I found they account after death to goe into another world, pointing eastward to the element; and, when they saw us at prayer, they observed us with great silence and respect, especially those to whome I had imparted the meaning of our reverence. To conclude, they are a very witty and ingenious people, apt both to understand and speake our language. So that I hope in God, as he hath miraculously preserved us hither from all daungers both of sea and land and their fury, so he will make us authors of his holy will in converting them to our true Christian faith, by his owne inspireing grace and knowledge of his deity.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>14-b</sup>[POWHATAN (d. April 1618) was the chief of the Powhatan federation which extended over Virginia at the beginning of the 17th century. His father, who had come from a southern tribe, had conquered five of the local tribes, and Powhatan extended his sway over several others. As Capt. John Smith described him, Powhatan was

"of personage a tall, well proportioned man, with a sower looke; his head somewhat gray, his beard so thinne that it seemeth none at al. His age neare 60, of a very able and hard body."

"He ruled with an iron hand, being excessively cruel to prisoners and male-factors." Until the marriage of his daughter, Pocahontas, to John Rolfe in 1614, Powhatan annoyed the English by ambushing small parties, murdering workers in the field, and by refusing to sell them food, such as maize. After the marriage, he steadily adhered to the peace he had agreed to. See below, Notes #54 and #74; also, *Dictionary of American Biography*, XV, 160-161.—*Editor's note.*

<sup>15</sup>Newport's "Discoveries in Virginia," in "Archaeologia Americana," IV, p. 47.—*Perry's note.*

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 55.—*Perry's note.*

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 64, 65.—*Perry's note.*

Among the turbulent and discontented settlers who had been sent to Virginia to form the nucleus of a new Commonwealth and a new Church, there seems to have been but one common bond of union,—the faithful and devoted minister of the Prince of peace. Scanty and unsatisfactory as are the notices of the life and labor of this most estimable man, it is a satisfaction that we can picture to mind the scene of his public services. In Smith's "Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters of New England," dedicated to Abbot,<sup>18</sup> Archbishop of Canterbury, we have a description of the rude house of prayer, where the colonists repaired for worship each morn and even, and beneath whose canvas roof the sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ was duly administered according to the use of our mother-Church:—

I have been often demanded by so many how we beganne to preach the Gospell in Virginia, and by what authority, what Churches we had, our order of service, and maintenance for our Ministers, therefore I think it not amisse to satisfie their demands, it being the Mother of all our Plantations, intreating Pride to spare laughter, to understand her simple beginning and proceedings. When I first went to Virginia, I well remember, wee did hang an awning (which is an old saile) to three or four trees to shadow us from the Sunne, our walls were rales of wood, our seats unhewed trees, till we cut planks; our Pulpit a bar of wood nailed to two neighboring trees; in foule weather we shifted into an old rotten tent, for wee had few better, and this came by the way of adventure for new. This was our Church, till wee built a homely thing like a barne, set upon cratchets, covered with rafts, sedge, and earth; so was also the walls; the best of our houses of the like curiosity, but the most parte farre much worse workmanship, that could neither well defend wind nor raine, yet wee had daily Common Prayer morning and evening, every Sunday two Sermons, and every three moneths the holy Communion, till our Minister died. But our Prayers daily, with an Homily on Sundaies, we continued two or three yeares after, till more Preachers came.

It was under this canvas roof that, on the third Sunday after Trinity, June 21, 1607, the first sacrament was administered. It was a memorable day in the history of this infant settlement. The wranglings and jealousies, which had been fomented during the voyage, were, for the moment at least, allayed. The kindly offices of the

<sup>18</sup>[GEORGE ABBOT (1562-1633) was successor to Bancroft as Archbishop of Canterbury, 1611-1633. His chief claim to remembrance is as one of the translators of the four Gospels for the King James Version of the Bible. See any encyclopedia, or *Dictionary of English Church History*, edited by Ollard Crosse, and Bond (3rd ed., London and New York, 1948), p. 8.—Editor's note.]

priest had resulted in the quelling of consciences ill at ease, in the subduing of bitter strifes and envyings, and in bringing men to be of one mind in an house.

"Many were the mischiefs that daily sprung from their ignorant, yet ambitious spirits, but the good doctrine and exhortation of our Preacher, Mr. Hunt, reconciled them, and caused Captain Smith to be admitted of the Councell."

"The next day," continues the chronicler, "all received the Communion," drawing near, as we may well believe, with faith and penitence, to take this holy sacrament to their comfort in this their new home. Surely there was a lesson for these turbulent men in the opening words of the epistle for the day,—St. Peter's words to them, and to all men,— "All of you be subject one to another, and be clothed with humility." Doubtless there came also, with telling force to these wanderers, far from their homes, and in the midst of no mere figurative wilderness, the parable of the gospel of the day,—Christ's story of the lost sheep sought and found, and the joy in heaven over the one sinner repenting of his sin.

Five weeks had elapsed since the landing, ere at the table of their Lord the contentions and animosities of the colonists were forgotten, and on the next day supplications were again offered at their rude altar in behalf of Captain Newport "returned for England; for whose passage and safe retorne wee made many Prayers to our Almighty God."<sup>19</sup> One hundred and four colonists were left at Jamestown to effect the beginning of the English Empire in the New World.

It was no easy task that these men had undertaken. The forests were to be felled; the ground was to be brought under subjection by the will and labor of the agriculturists. There were homes to be built; fortifications were required; trade was to be opened with the crafty and treacherous savages. Meanwhile, the midsummer heat was such that the fields could not be tilled. Disease, engendered by the dampness of the climate, prostrated nearly every one, and the lack of suitable food lessened the possibilities of cure.

"Our drink," writes the chronicler of these unhappy days, "was unwholesome water; our lodgings, castles in the air; had we been as free from all sins as from gluttony and drunkenness, we might have canonized for saints."

Still, though during the summer there were not at any one time five able men to guard the bulwarks, the prayers at morn and even were

<sup>19</sup>Wingfield's "Discourse of Virginia," *op. cit.*, IV, p. 77.—Perry's note.

not omitted. Even when on Sundays there was apprehension of an attack by the savages, and the sermon was necessarily omitted, the service was invariably performed, while "in the tyme of our hunger" when "the common store of oyle, vinegar, sack and aquavite were all spent, sauing twoe gallons of each, the sack was reserued for the Communion Table." On the 22nd of August, Captain Bartholomew Gosnold died,—“a worthy and religious gentleman.” He was “honorably buried, having all the ordnance in the port shot off, with many volleys of small shot.”

One-half of the colonists had died before autumn, and pitiful, indeed, is the record of Percy:

“If it had not pleased God to have put a terrour in the savages’ hearts, we had all perished by those wild and cruel Pagans, being in that weak state as we were; our men night and day groaning in every corner of the fort, most pitiful to hear. If there were any conscience in men, it would make their hearts bleed to hear the pitiful murmurings and onteries of our sick men, without relief, every night and day for the space of six weeks; some departing out of the world, many times three or four in a night; in the morning, their bodies trailed out of their cabins, like dogs, to be buried. In this sort did I see the mortality of divers of our people.”<sup>20</sup>

“The living were scarce able to bury the dead,” says Smith,<sup>21</sup> who, at no little risk, made expeditions among the savages for corn. But even hunger was not the only ill threatening the destruction of the infant colony. Early in January, the rude church and the rude town described by Smith were destroyed by fire. In this disastrous conflagration

Good Master Hunt, our Preacher, lost all his Librarie, and all that hee had (but the clothes on his backe) yet none ever saw him repine at his losse. Upon any alarme he would be as readie for defence as any; and till he could not speake he never ceased to his utmost to animate us constantly to persist; whose soule questionlesse is with God.<sup>22</sup>

The settlers impoverished and homeless, wasted and worn by disease and privation, disappointed of their hopes of speedy fortunes, and fearing, in their well-nigh defenceless state, the attacks of the savages, bethought themselves of abandoning so ill-starred an enterprise; but the fortunate arrival of Captain Newport, with supplies,

<sup>20</sup>Purchas, IV, p. 1690.—*Perry's note.*

<sup>21</sup>Historie, I, p. 682.—*Perry's note.*

<sup>22</sup>Purchas, IV, p. 1710. Smith's "Historie," I, p. 168.—*Perry's note.*

gave the colony a further lease of life. The sailors were employed, under their leader's direction, in the erection of a "faire store house," and the mariners, "aboute a church," which "they finished cheerfully and in short tyme."

Shortly after, Newport sailed for England, taking with him Wingfield, whose consolation was, that his "trauells and daungers" had "done somewhat for the behoof of Jerusalem in Virginia."<sup>23</sup>

The church which Smith calls "a golden Church," built when the mariners were striving to load the ship with "golden dirt," as it proved to be, and of which the chronicler tells us that "the raine washed" it "neere to nothing in fourteen days,"<sup>24</sup> shortly required rebuilding.

Meanwhile, the saintly "Preacher" appears to have sickened and died. No mention of him is found save the reference to his death we have already quoted from Purchas. He may have lived to solemnize the first marriage in Virginia between John Laydon and Anne Burras, which took place towards the close of the year 1608; but of this we are by no means assured, and we cannot but agree with Anderson, "that, had he lived so long, some more distinct traces of his valuable ministrations would have been preserved."<sup>25</sup> Doubtless he was "taken away from the evil to come" early in the second year of the settlement he had labored so devotedly to found. His latest efforts appear to have been directed towards the rebuilding of the church—a work undertaken coincidently with the repair of the palisades and the planting of the cornfields and the re-covering of the storehouse; and then, his labors ended, his lifework done, he "fell asleep." That he died as he had lived, encouraging his fellow-settlers to persist in their effort to found a settlement, is on record, and we may, in adding our tribute to the memory of this pioneer mission-priest of the mother-Church, express our accord with the old chronicler in the pious confidence that his soul "is with God."

"Prayers daily, with an Homily on Sundays," were continued for the "two or three years after, till more Preachers came," and even on the expedition sent into the interior under the command of the adventuresome Smith, "our order daily was to haue prayer with a Psalme, at which solemnitie the poore salvages much wondered; our Prayers being done, a while they were busied with a consultation till they had contrived their business."<sup>26</sup> It is interesting to notice these evi-

<sup>23</sup>Wingfield's "Discourse," *op. cit.*, IV, p. 103.—Perry's note.

<sup>24</sup>Historie, I, p. 169.—Perry's note.

<sup>25</sup>Colonial Church, I, pp. 181, 182.—Perry's note.

<sup>26</sup>Historie, I, p. 182.—Perry's note.



dences of a devotional spirit animating the better portion of this wild community. Amidst the strifes and wranglings of the office-holders and office-seekers, amidst perils and dangers threatening all alike, the words of common prayer were daily used, and in their hallowed phrases the worshippers were united with those of their faith and lineage across the sea, in supplication to a common Father in heaven.

On Smith's return after one of these excursions into the country, to which we have referred, the office of president was assigned to him, and it well accords with other statements relating to this remarkable character, that we are told that "now the building of Ratcliffe's<sup>27</sup> (the former president's) pallace stayed as a thing needlesse; and the church was repaired." In the autumn of 1608 more settlers came, and among them two females, "Mrs. Forest, and her maid, Anne Burras." The farce of a coronation of Powhatan was enacted, under the direction of Captain Newport, for the third time on the Virginian coast, and the time of the settlers, which was not wasted in such senseless ceremonies as this, was devoted, by order of the council at home, to the search for gold. Search was also directed to be made for the recovery of the Roanoke settlers, but in vain; and the company required immediate returns for their investments, threatening the settlers that, unless their orders were complied with, "they should be left in Virginia as banished men."<sup>28</sup>

The threats of the London Company were as futile as their hopes. Their anticipations of finding an El Dorado amidst the luxuriant forest-glades of Virginia were not to be realized. Dissensions, privations, the "accursed thirst for gold," and the stubborn unwillingness of the ill-assorted "first planters of Virginia" to submit to any power or rule save that of self, brought this settlement in the far-distant west into disfavor and distrust at home. The colonists, lacking the sweet restraint of the teachings and example of the saintly Robert Hunt, changed only from bad to worse, and the story of their strifes and jealousies, their struggles for a miserable and precarious existence, and the failure of all the cherished expectations in England of the speedy reduction of the savages to civilization and Christianity, gave abundant occasion to the "enemy to blaspheme."

<sup>27</sup>[JOHN RATCLIFFE (died 1610) was captain of the third of the first three ships—the *Discovery*—which brought the first Jamestown settlers. He was governor of Virginia in succession to Wingfield, and was murdered, with 25 of his men, in the most treacherous manner while trading with Powhatan, the Indian chief. See *D.N.B.*, LII, 192-193, under "Sicklemore."—*Editor's note.*

<sup>28</sup>Bancroft, I, 135.—*Perry's note.*



The "malicious and looser sort," says a writer, but a little later in the history of Virginia colonization, "with the licentious stage poets, have whet their tongues with scornful taunts against the action itself, insomuch as there is no common speech, nor public name of anything this day, except it be the name of God, which is more widely depraved, traduced, and derided by such unhallowed lips, than the name of Virginia."<sup>29</sup>

Still, no thought of abandoning the enterprise entered into the minds of the friends of colonization at home. The succession of misfortunes, which had attended every step of the scheme of settlement, served to deepen the enthusiasm and zeal of men who were determined to succeed. There rallied in support of the new plans for promoting the settlement of Virginia the leading men of the age. The royal assent to a new charter was obtained on Tuesday, in Rogation Week, May 23, 1609, and "The Treasurer and Company of Adventurers and Planters of the City of London for the first Colony in Virginia" were duly and formally created by the king's patent "a corporation and Body Politick."

By this instrument, not only were the limits of the colony extended, but the company itself was enlarged by the addition of numbers of the nobility, gentry, and tradesmen, so that, whether we consider the rank and character of its members, or the rights and privileges with which the company was vested by the royal authority, it claims a place in history as one of the most important bodies ever created, either for trade or government. The names of twenty-one peers of the realm appear in the list of incorporators, headed by the powerful Cecil, Earl of Salisbury,<sup>30</sup> the relentless foe, as he had earlier been the rival, of Raleigh,<sup>31</sup> who, in his dungeon in the tower, doubtless felt a keen interest in these efforts for the successful accomplishment of a work to which he had long since given influence, wealth, and personal concern. The bishops of London, the celebrated Abbot,<sup>32</sup> afterward translated to Canterbury, Lincoln,<sup>33</sup> Worcester,<sup>34</sup> and Bath and

<sup>29</sup>Dedicatory Epistle to the "New Life in Virginia."—*Perry's note.*

<sup>30</sup>[CECIL, Earl of Salisbury, was ROBERT CECIL, 1st Earl of Salisbury (1565-1612).—*Editor's note.*]

<sup>31</sup>[Sir WALTER RALEIGH (c. 1552-1618) was imprisoned in the Tower from 1603 to 1616. Upon his release, he undertook to find a gold mine in Spanish possessions, and failed. He was executed in 1618. See any encyclopedia.—*Editor's note.*]

<sup>32</sup>[GEORGE ABBOT. See above, Note #18.—*Editor's note.*]

<sup>33</sup>[WILLIAM BARLOW was Bishop of Lincoln from 1608 until his death, 1613.—*Editor's note.*]

<sup>34</sup>[GERVASE BABINGTON was Bishop of Worcester, 1597-1610. He was succeeded by HENRY PARRY, 1610-1612.—*Editor's note.*]

Wells,<sup>35</sup> and Sutcliffe,<sup>36</sup> Dean of Exeter, who had long been interested in the colonization of America, were associated in this scheme. Hakluyt,<sup>37</sup> Prebendary of Westminster, was also a member of the company, with William Crashaw, B.D.,<sup>38</sup> and other clergymen of the Church. The numerous companies of tradesmen of the city of London, the mercers, the drapers, the goldsmiths, the merchant tailors, the cutlers, and more than fifty others, were interested in this gigantic corporation. Merchants, artificers, yeomen, were all represented in a list which comprised, not merely the great, but all sorts and conditions of men.

To this company, in which all gradations of rank were merged in a common equality, was transferred the powers which had been reserved to the king by the former patent. The execution of the privileges conceded by the charter was committed to a council of upwards of fifty, of which Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton,<sup>39</sup> was at the head,—a position well deserved by the interest he had taken in the planting of Virginia from the first. To this council almost unlimited powers were intrusted. Under its direction, the governor of Virginia could exercise well-nigh despotic rule, while in the event of mutiny or rebellion he was empowered, at his discretion, to proclaim martial law, and to carry into force all the rigorous provisions of this stern code. The life, liberty, and property of the settlers were wholly in the power of an officer owing his appointment and allegiance to a commercial corporation. The lands heretofore conveyed in trust, or held in joint proprietorship, were now granted in absolute fee. But one restriction upon emigration was enjoined, and that was the requirement of the Oath of Supremacy from all voyagers previous to setting sail; and the reason assigned for this injunction was as follows:—

Because the principal Effect, which we can desire or expect of this Action, is the Conversion and reduction of the People in

<sup>35</sup>[JAMES MONTAGUE was Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1608-1616.—*Editor's Note.*]

<sup>36</sup>[MATTHEW SUTCLIFFE (1550?-1629) was interested in the settlement of both Virginia and New England. He held other benefices besides the deanery of Exeter, and was the founder of a polemical college at Chelsea, which did not long survive him. See *D.N.B.*, LV, 175-177.—*Editor's note.*]

<sup>37</sup>[RICHARD HAKLUYT (c. 1553-1616.) See the first article in this issue.—*Editor's note.*]

<sup>38</sup>[WILLIAM CRASHAW (1572-1626) "was a good scholar, an eloquent preacher, and a strong protestant." He was the father of RICHARD CRASHAW (1613-1650), English poet, styled "the divine." Excerpts from William Crashaw's famous sermon will be found below in this article. See *D.N.B.*, XIII, 36-37.—*Editor's note.*]

<sup>39</sup>[HENRY WRIOTHESLEY, 3rd Earl of Southampton (1573-1624), was one of Shakespeare's patrons. He took a considerable share in promoting colonial enterprises of the time.—*Editor's note.*]

those Parts unto the True Worship of God, and Christian Religion, in which Respect we should be loth, that any person should be permitted to pass, that we suspected to effect the superstitions of the Church of Rome.<sup>40</sup>

It was at this juncture in the affairs of Virginia that the name of the devout and amiable Nicholas Ferrar appears in connection with the enlarged and re-chartered company. The father of John and Nicholas Ferrar had been a friend of Raleigh, Hawkins, and Drake, and from the first had shown himself to be "a great lover and encourager of foreign plantations."<sup>41</sup> It is an evidence of the zeal of the dignitaries and members of the English Church in the missionary work in the New World, that we find associated, in this renewed effort for colonization, men holding the highest positions in Church and state, whose names are fresh in remembrance after the lapse of nearly three centuries. With the Ferrars, whose memory the Church of England has ever held dear, and whose services to the American Church we, in this Western World, may well recall, we also find the name of Sir Edwin Sandys,<sup>42</sup> son of an Archbishop of York, and pupil of the "judicious" Hooker. Certainly, if patient, untiring, and abundant exertions, springing from a full and earnest recognition of the bidding, sounding down the Christian centuries, from the Master's lips,—“Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature,”—could have met the aspersions cast on England's reformed Church by the Church of Rome, “that she converts no believers abroad,” labors such as Hakluyt coun-

<sup>40</sup>Stith's "History of Virginia," Sabin's reprint, Appendix, p. 22.—*Perry's note.*

<sup>41</sup>McDonough's "Memoirs of Nicholas Ferrar."—*Perry's note.*

[NICHOLAS FERRAR (1592-1637) was the son of Nicholas Ferrar and Mary (Wodenoth) and the brother of JOHN FERRAR (d. 1657). He was one of the most celebrated Anglicans of his time. In 1618, he took his father's place in the Virginia Company, and served for a time as deputy treasurer of the Company. When in 1623 the Company was deprived of its patent, Nicholas, Jr., with the cooperation of his family, established the community of Little Gidding in Huntingdonshire, beginning in 1625. In 1626 he was ordered deacon by Bishop Laud, but never took priest's orders. The story of this famous community must be sought elsewhere. See *D.N.B.*, XVIII, 377-380; Ollard, Cross, and Bond (editors), *A Dictionary of English Church History* (3d. ed., 1948), pp. 224-226.—*Editor's note.*]

<sup>42</sup>[Sir EDWIN SANDYS (1561-1629) was the second son of Archbishop Edwin Sandys (1516?-1588) by the latter's second wife, Cicely (Wilford).]

Edwin, Jr., became a member of the Council for Virginia on March 9, 1607. In 1617, he was appointed to assist Sir Thomas Smythe, treasurer, in the management of the Company. Sandys supported the request of the Leyden exiles (known to us as "the Pilgrims") to be allowed to settle in Virginia. In 1619, Sandys became treasurer of the Company—"a date to be remembered in the history of English colonization." See any encyclopedia, or *D.N.B.*, L, 286-290.—*Editor's note.*]

selling, and the Ferrars seconded, and a host of others aided and approved, would have blotted out this slander forever.

With the grant of the new charter, fresh interest attached to the work. Thomas, Lord De la Warr,<sup>43</sup> a man of "approved courage, temper, and experience," was created Governor, or Captain-General, of Virginia, and an expedition of "Adventurers," under his leadership, was at once fitted out, the expense of which was largely borne by the commander-in-chief, while his zeal and interest were such as to "reuiue and quicken the whole enterprize by his example, constancy, and resolution."

It was an age of pomp and circumstance, and yet it must have been an interesting pageant when the chivalrous De la Warr, and the Council of Virginia, with the "Adventurers," walked in solemn state to the Temple Church, where William Crashaw,<sup>44</sup> the preacher of the Temple, and father of the poet whom Cowley praised and Pope was willing to imitate, preached the first missionary sermon ever addressed by a priest of the Church of England to members of that Church, about to bear that Church's name, and carry that Church's teachings to a distant land. The text was from St. Luke's Gospel, xxii, 32,<sup>45</sup> and the true missionary spirit with which this unique discourse is filled may be judged by the following extract:—

If there be any that come in, only or principally for profit, or any that would so come in, I wish the latter may never bee in, and the former out again. If the planting of an English Colonie, in a good and fruitfull soil, and of an English Church in a heathen country; if the conuersion of the Heathen, if the propagating of the Gospell, and enlarging of the king-

<sup>43</sup>[THOMAS WEST, 3rd or 12th Baron De La Warr (1577-1618), succeeded to his father's title and estates in 1602, and became a privy councillor. In 1609, he was chosen a member of the council of the Virginia Company, and in the same year was appointed governor and captain-general of Virginia for life. His rule was strict but just. In March 1611, he returned to London. There he remained until news of the tyrannical rule of Samuel Argall led him to sail again for Virginia. He died en route, June 7, 1618, and was buried at sea. The Delaware River and the State of Delaware were named in his honor. See any encyclopedia, or *D.N.B.*, LX, 344-345; also, *Dictionary of American Biography*, 221-222.—*Editor's note.*]

<sup>44</sup>See above, Note #38, and below, Note #45.—*Editor's note.*]

<sup>45</sup>[It has been said, "There is no nobler sermon than this of the period." It was delivered on February 21, 1609. The text reads:

"But I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not; and when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren."

Anderson, *op. cit.*, I, 190-197, analyzes the sermon at length, giving several more extensive quotations from it than does Bishop Perry.—*Editor's note.*]

dome of Jesus Christ, be not inducements strong enough to bring them into this businesse, it is a pitie they be in at all. I will discharge my conscience in this matter. If any that are gone, or purpose to go in person, do it only that they may liue at ease and get wealth; if others that aduenture their money have respected the same ends, I wish for my part, the one in England again, and the other had his money in his purse; nay, it were better that every one gave something to make vp his aduenture than that such Nabals should thrust in their foule feete, and trouble so worthe a businesse. And I could wish, for my part, that the proclamation which God inioined to bee made before the Israelites went to battell, were also made in this case: namely, that whosoever is faint-hearted, let him returne home againe, lest his brethren's hart faint like his; (Deut. XX.8) for the coward not only betraieeth himself, but daunts and discourages others. Priuate ends haue been the bane of many excellent exploits; and priuate plots for the gaine of a few haue given hindrance to many good and great matters. Let us take heed of it in this present businesse, and all jointly with one heart aime at the generall and publike ends lest we finde hereafter to our shame and grieffe, that this one flie hath corrupted the whole box of oyntment, though never so precious. Let vs therefore cast aside all cogitation of profit, let vs look at better things; and then, I dare say vnto you as Christ hath taught me, that, if in this action wee seeke first the Kingdom of God, all other things shall be added unto us (Matt. vi. 33) that is (applying it to the case in hand), if wee first and principally seeke the propagation of the Gospell, and conuersion of soules, God will vndoubtedly make the voiage very profitable to all the aduenturers, and their posterities, even for matter of this life: for the soile is good, the commodities many, and necessarie for England, the distance not far offe, the passage faire and easie, so that there wants only God's blessing to make it gainfull. Now the highway to obtain that, is to forget our owne affections, and to neglect our own priuate profit in respect of God's glorie, and he that is zealous of God's glorie, God will be mindful of his profit.

Wise and fitting words with which to preface an effort for the glory of God and the extension of the Church of Christ. The preacher was far-seeing. Earnestly does he deprecate the allowance of any Papists, "Brownists," and factious "separatists,"—then beginning to excite notice and alarm at home,—among these founders of a daughter Church of England in a New World. A touching reference to the leader of the "Adventurers" occurs at the close of this discourse. At the battle of Poitiers, as Froissart informs us, the French king was

captured by an ancestor of the governor, Sir Roger la Warr, and John de Palham. This incident of the family annals was thus "improved":—

And thou, most noble Lord, whom God hath stirred vp to neglect the pleasures of England, and with Abraham to goe from thy country, and forsake thy kindred and thy father's house, to goe to a land which God will show thee, giue me leaue to speak the truth. Thy ancestor many hundred years agoe gained great honour to thy house; but by this action thou augmentest it. He tooke a king prisoner in the field in his owne land; but by the godly managing of this businesse, thou shalt take the Diuell [i.e. Devil] prisoner in open field, and in his owne kingdome; nay the Gospell which thou carriest with thee shalt bind him in chaines, and his angels in stronger fetters than iron, and execute upon them the judgement that is written: yea, it shall leade captiuitie captiue, and redeeme the soules of men from bondage. And thus thy glory and honour of thy house is more at the last than at the first.

Goe on therefore, and prosper with this thy honour, which indeed is greater than euery eie discernes, euen such as the present ages shortly will enjoy, and the future admire. Goe forward in the strength of the Lord, and make mention of His righetousnesse only. Looke not at the gaine, the wealth, the honour, the aduancement of thy house that may follow and fall vpon thee; but looke at those high and better ends that concerne the kingdom of God. Remember thou art a generall of English men, nay, a generall of Christian men; therefore principally looke to religion. You goe to commend it to the heathen; then practice it yourselues; make the name of Christ honourable, not hatefull vnto them.

In like burning words of high and holy encouragement had the Rev. Dr. Symonds,<sup>46</sup> preacher at Saint Saviour's in Southwark, two months later, addressed the "many honourable worshipfull, the aduenturers and planters for Virginia," at White-chapel. The text was

<sup>46</sup>[WILLIAM SYMONDS, D.D. (1556-1616?) was preacher for several years at St. Saviour's Church, Southwark, and is said to have been a resident in Virginia for a time. He aided Captain John Smith in getting Smith's MSS published. Wood describes him as

"a person of an holy life, grave and modest in his carriage, painful in the ministry, well learned, and of rare understanding in propheticall scriptures" (*Athenae Oxon.*)

This Virginia sermon was preached on April 25, 1609, and was

"published for the benefit and vse of the colony, planted and to be planted there, and for the Aduancement of their Christian purpose."

See *D.N.B.*, LV, 278.—*Editor's note.*]



from Genesis XII, 1-3,<sup>47</sup> the portion of Scripture which relates the call of Abraham and the promise of God's blessing on his going to a strange country. At the close of an earnest and impassioned discourse we find these words:—

What blessing any nation had by Christ, must be communicated to all nations; the office of his Prophecie, to teach the ignorant; the office of his Priesthood, to give remission of sinnes to the sinnefull; the office of his Kingdome, by word, and sacraments, and spirit, to rule the inordinate; that such as are dead in trespasses, may be made to sit together in heavenly places. . . . If it be God's purpose, that the Gospell shall be preached through the world for a witnesse, then ought ministers to bee carefull and willing to spread it abroad, in such good services as this that is intended. Sure it is a great shame vnto us of the ministry, that can be better content to sit and rest us heere idle, than undergoe so good a worke. Our pretence of zeale is clearly discourd to be but hypocrisy, when we rather choose to mind unprofitable questions at home, than gaining soules abroad.

These discourses illustrate the popular feeling with reference to the New World. The end and aim of the expeditions to the West was, as Crashaw declared, "the destruction of the deuils [devil's] kingdom, and propagation of the gospell." "The planting of a church,"<sup>48</sup> the "converting of soules to God," these were the objects held constantly in view by the promoters and leaders of the successive schemes of colonization, and, if the same high and holy spirit failed to animate the rank and file of the settlers, the record tells us constantly of those who lived and labored for the Christianizing of the savages and the extension of Christ's Church in the New World.

Circumstances prevented the entrance of De la Warr upon the duties of his office at the outset, and, consequently, the first expedition despatched under the new charter sailed from Plymouth on the 1st

<sup>47</sup>[The text from Genesis 12: 1-3, reads:

"Now the Lord had said unto Abram, Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto a land that I will shew thee: And I will make of thee a great nation, and I will bless thee, and make thy name great; and thou shalt be a blessing: And I will bless them that bless thee, and curse him that curseth thee: and in thee shall all families of the earth be blessed."

Anderson, *op. cit.*, I, 197-199, gives a much longer quotation from the sermon.

—*Editor's note.*

<sup>48</sup>Crashaw's sermon, quoted in Anderson's "Colonial Church," I, p. 193.—*Perry's note.*



day of June, 1609, in nine vessels; Sir Thomas Gates,<sup>49</sup> who had been in the service of the United Netherlands, being lieutenant-general, and Sir George Somers,<sup>50</sup> admiral, of Virginia. Newport was in command of the fleet; and the three were empowered to administer the affairs of the colony until the arrival of Lord De la Warr. The ship "Sea Adventure" carried Gates, Somers, and Newport. In the "Diamond" were Captains Ratcliffe and King; in the "Falcon," Captain Martin and Master Nelson. The "Blessing," with Captain Archer and Master Adams, conveyed horses and mares; while the "Unity," the "Lion," the "Swallow," a "Ketch," and "a boat built in the North Colony," at Sagadahock, with Captain and Master Davies, who were among the settlers of that northern colony, made up the fleet on which about five hundred colonists were embarked. The voyage was favorable until the 23d of July, when the "Ketch" was lost in a hurricane, while the "Sea Venture," driven before the storm, was stranded, on the 28th, upon the shores of "—the still vex'd Bermoothes." Seven ships only reached Virginia.

The lives of the shipwrecked colonists at the Bermudas were marvellously preserved, and one and all were at once occupied in preparing the means of escape from the place of their detention. An excellent priest of the English Church, recommended by Dr. Ravis,<sup>51</sup> Bishop of London, was in the company, and "publique Prayer, every morning and Evening," was faithfully observed; while on Sunday two sermons were preached by the Rev. Richard Bucke,<sup>52</sup> a graduate of Cambridge,<sup>53</sup> and

<sup>49</sup>[Sir THOMAS GATES, flourished between 1596 and 1621. See *D.N.B.*, XXI, 64-65.—*Editor's note.*]

<sup>50</sup>[Sir GEORGE SOMERS (1554-1610) was the virtual discoverer of the Bermuda Islands, in that settlement of the islands dates only from his first visit when he took possession of them in the name of the King of England. See *D.N.B.*, LIII, 220-221.—*Editor's note.*]

<sup>51</sup>THOMAS RAVIS was Bishop of London from 1607, when he was translated from Gloucester, until his death, Dec. 14, 1609.—*Editor's note.*]

<sup>52</sup>[RICHARD BUCK or BUCKE (c. 1582—c. 1624) was the son of Edmund Bucke, and was born at Wymondham, Norfolk. At the age of 18, he was admitted Sizar at Caius College, Cambridge (not Oxford, as Anderson and Perry have it).

Bucke came to Virginia with Sir Thomas Gates, and landed at Jamestown, May 23, 1610. He was thus the second minister at Jamestown, and later was probably aided by Poole, Glover, and others.

He married John Rolfe and Pocahontas, April 5, 1614, and opened with prayer the first General Assembly of Virginia, July 30, 1619.

Bucke was a landowner near Jamestown, and left a wife and children at his death, which occurred before February, 1624. He was then about 42 years old when he died. See Edward L. Goodwin, *The Colonial Church in Virginia* (New York, 1927), p. 256.—*Editor's note.*]

<sup>53</sup>[Bishop Perry has Oxford as the University from which Bucke was graduated, following Anderson in this statement. But later research has shown that Bucke graduated from Cambridge, as stated in Note #52 above.—*Editor's note.*]

"a verie good preacher," as John Rolfe<sup>54</sup> characterized him in a letter to the king, a little later.

The chronicler of the expedition further tells us that "it pleased God also to give vs opportunitie to performe all the other Offices and Rites of our Christian Profession on this Island." On the 26th of November (the twenty-fourth Sunday after Trinity) occurred a marriage. On the first of October (the sixteenth Sunday after Trinity) and on "Christmasse Eve," which fell on Sunday, the fourth in Advent, the Holy Communion was celebrated, "at the partaking whereof our Governor was, and the greatest part of our Company." On the 11th of February, Sexagesima Sunday, Bermuda, the child of "one John Rolfe,"<sup>55</sup> was christened; Captain Newport, William Strachey,<sup>56</sup> and Mistress Horton being godparents; and on the 25th of March, which was both Passion Sunday and Lady-day, the son of Edward Eason, named Bermudas, was christened, Captain Newport, William Strachey, and Master James Swift being godfathers. Six of the company were

<sup>54</sup>[JOHN ROLFE (1585-1622) was the son of John Rolfe and Dorothea (Mason). He was baptized on May 6, 1585, at Heacham, in Norfolk, England. He was married when the *Sea Adventure* left for Virginia in June 1609, for he and his wife were stranded with the other passengers of that ship when it was wrecked on the Bermudas. There their daughter, "Bermuda," was born to them and baptized on February 11, 1610, but soon died. Soon after reaching Virginia, Rolfe's wife died.]

The native tobacco was not liked by Europeans, and Rolfe, after experimenting, produced such a highly acceptable leaf that tobacco became the staple export from Virginia, and thus had tremendous influence on the economic and social life of Virginia for the future.

In April 1614, Rolfe, who had fallen in love with Pocahontas, married her, and this union brought peace with the Indians for eight years. This enabled the colonists to become firmly established in Virginia.

In 1616, Rolfe took his wife to England, where she died, leaving one son. He returned to Virginia in May 1617, and from then until his death he was active in the political affairs of the colony. His third wife was Jane, the daughter of William Pierce, or Pyers. Apparently, Rolfe was killed in an Indian massacre in 1622. His wife and daughter survived. See *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVI, 117-118.—*Editor's note.*]

<sup>55</sup>[For the explanation of this relationship, see above, Note #54.—*Editor's note.*]

<sup>56</sup>[WILLIAM STRACHEY was probably born in 1568 and died in 1634, but all that can positively be said is that he flourished between 1606 and 1618.]

Strachey was one of the grantees under King James' second charter to the London Company of Virginia; and on June 2, 1609, he sailed on the *Sea Adventure*, which was wrecked at the Bermudas.

After he reached Virginia on May 23, 1610, and after the colony was saved from abandonment by the timely arrival of Lord De La Warr, Strachey was appointed secretary and recorder of De La Warr's council.

Late in 1611, Strachey returned to London, but the shortness of his stay in Virginia is no measure of his value to the historian. His records and writings about Virginia are among the most valuable sources of early American discoveries and settlements. See *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVIII, 120-121.—*Editor's note.*]

solemnly buried, with the Church's rites. On leaving the island in the rude cedar ships they had builded, the governor, Sir Thomas Gates, erected "a faire Mnemosyon in figure of a crosse," made of some of the timber of the wreck, bearing on each side an inscription in Latin and English:

"In memory of our great deliuerance, both from a mightie storme and leake; wee haue set vp this to the honour of God."

Thus piously leaving the harbor which had proved to them a safe haven, they sailed for Virginia, which they reached in safety on Wednesday, the 23d of May [1610], only to find the miserable remnant of the colony, which but a few months before numbered five hundred men. It was "the starving time." The fort was dismantled, the palisades torn down, the ports open, and the gates forced from their hinges. The new-comers proceeded at once, on landing, to the ruined and unfrequented church. The governor caused the bell to be rung, and the dissipated and starving people dragged their enfeebled frames to the house of God, that they might join in the "zealous and sorrowful prayer" of the faithful Bucke, as in the Church's words he pleaded, in that sad and solemn hour, for himself and his fellow-worshippers, before the Lord their God. At the close of this solemn service, the commission of Gates was formally proclaimed, and the insignia of office was surrendered to him by [George] Percy,<sup>57</sup> the brother of the Earl of Northumberland, who had been acting as president since the departure, for England, of Captain Smith.

A brief survey of the condition of the colony was sufficient to discourage any one. Driven to extremities, without provisions or the means of procuring any, disappointed as to the past, and hopeless for the future, Gates determined to abandon the ill-fated settlement, and proceed to Newfoundland, where he hoped to distribute the pitiful rem-

<sup>57</sup>[GEORGE PERCY (1580-c.1632) was the eighth son of Henry Percy, 8th Earl of Northumberland, by his wife Catherine (Neville). George Percy sailed with the first Virginia expedition, Dec. 20, 1606. In September 1609, he succeeded Smith as governor, and thus was blamed by the London Company for the "starving time," which reduced the population from 500 to some 60 when Gates reached Virginia in May 1610. Apparently, sickness of a devastating kind, in which Percy was a victim, was the principal cause of the "starving time." Percy's associates believed in his industry, courage, and character; and Lord Delaware, when he returned to England in March 1611, designated Percy as deputy governor, to preside until the arrival of Dale.

Percy himself left Virginia in April 1612, and apparently never returned. His own account of "*the Proceedings and Occurrentes of Momente wch have Hapnd in Virginië*," written some time after 1622, was never published until three centuries later (April, 1922). See *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIV, 462. —Editor's note.]

nant of the colony among the English fishing-vessels off the Banks. On Thursday, the 7th of June, at noon, the whole company embarked, Sir Thomas Gates last of all, "giving a farewell with a peal of small Shott," none dropping a tear at leaving a spot where "none had enjoyed one day of happiness." At eventide the ships drifted down the river, and the abandonment of the first colony in Virginia was complete.

Heaven interposed to save the future Church and Commonwealth of Virginia. On the morning of Friday, the 8th, when the ships freighted with the returning colonists lay at anchor at the mouth of the river, waiting the return of the tide, a boat was descried in the offing, which had been sent by the captain-general of the colony, Lord De la Warr, to announce his arrival from England. Gates and his company returned at once to the forlorn and dismantled town they had so lately quitted, and on the first Sunday after Trinity, June 10, 1610, the squadron of De la Warr, consisting of three ships, arrived off the fort, and he, with his retinue, landed in the afternoon at the small gate of the palisade. In the spirit of true Christian chivalry did this excellent nobleman enter upon his work for Christ and his Church in the New World. Though the lieutenant-governor and the few survivors were drawn up under arms to receive him, De la Warr, ere he acknowledged their courtesy or assumed any show of authority, fell on his knees on the ground, and in the presence of all the people offered long and silent prayer to God, and then marched in solemn state through the town to the little church. Here, after prayers and a sermon by the worthy Parson Bucke, the commission of the governor was read, the seals of office were formally surrendered to him, and he addressed the assembly with a few words of encouragement and admonition.

Thus, solemnly and in the fear of God, did this excellent nobleman enter upon the duties of his thankless office. Strachey, the secretary and recorder of the colony, as well as its historian, gives us, among his earliest notices of the new regime thus inaugurated, the following quaint picture of the church and church-life at Jamestown, at this time:—

The Captaine Generall hath giuen order for the repairing the Church, and at this instant many hands are about it. It is in length threescore foote, in breadth twenty-foure, and shall haue a chancell in it of Cedar, and a Communion Table of the Blake Walnut, and all the Pewes of Cedar, with faire broad windowes, to shut and open, as the weather shall occasion, of the same wood, a Pulpet of the same, with a font hewen hollow, like a Canoa, with two Bels at the West end. It is so cast, as to be very light within, and the Lord Gouverneur and Captaine Generall doth cause it to be kept passing sweete,

and trimmed vp with diuers flowers, with a Sexton belonging to it: and in it euery Sunday we haue Sermons twice a day, and euery Thursday a Sermon, hauing true<sup>58</sup> preachers, which take their weekly turnes; and euery morning at the ringing of a bell, about ten of the clocke, each man addresseth himselfe to prayers, and so at foure of the clocke before Supper. Euery Sunday, when the Lord Gouvernour and Capitaine Generall goeth to Church, he is accompanied with all the Counsailers, Captaines, other Officers, and all the Gentlemen, with a guard of Holberdiers, in his Lordship's Liury, faire red cloakes, to the number of fifty both on each side, and behinde him: and being in the Church, his Lordship hath his seate in the Quier, in a green veluet chaire, with a cloath, with a veluet cushion spread on a table before him, on which he kneeleth, and on each side sit the Counsell, Captaines, and Officers, each in their place, and when he returneth home againe, he is waited on to his house in the same manner.<sup>59</sup>

Of the "true" preachers referred to in this interesting extract, Richard Bucke was surely one, and the other, or others, doubtless accompanied De la Warr. We have no record of the name or names.

In the long and touching recital of affairs, sent by the Governor and council to the London Company, dated "James Towne, July 7th, 1610," the request is made for "a new supply in such matters of the two-fold physicke, which both the soules and bodies of our poor people here stand much in neede of," and in the "Table of such as are required in their plantation," issued by the Council at home, the foremost entry is, "Foure honest and learned Ministers." One of these was Alexander Whitaker,<sup>60</sup> who arrived in the colony on the 10th of May, 1611, with

<sup>58</sup>Evidently a clerical error for "two," the alternate being, doubtless, the chaplain of De la Warr's fleet.—*Perry's note.*

<sup>59</sup>*Purchas*, IV, p. 1754.—*Perry's note.*

<sup>60</sup>[ALEXANDER WHITAKER (1585-1617) was the son of the Rev. William Whitaker, Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge University; his mother was a daughter of Nicholas Culverwell. B.A., Cambridge, 1605; M.A. 1608. Following ordination, he was appointed to a living in the north of England.

Whitaker came to Virginia with his friend, Sir Thomas Dale, in 1611, and was the first minister of Henrico Parish, some fifty miles up the James River, on both sides of the river. He was drowned in crossing the river in 1617, at the age of 32. He never married.

His devoted and unselfish life won the commendation of his associates in Virginia. He instructed Pocahontas in the Christian religion, and baptized her before her marriage to John Rolfe. See E. L. Goodwin, *The Colonial Church in Virginia*, p. 316; also, *Dictionary of American Biography*, XX, 79-80.—*Editor's note.*]

Sir Thomas Dale,<sup>61</sup> the High Marshal of Virginia. He was the son of the celebrated William Whitaker, Master of St. John's College, and Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge, and although, to quote the words of Crashaw,

"seated in the North Countrey, where he was well approued by the greatest and beloued of his people, and had competent allowance to his good liking, and was in as good possibility of better living as any of his time," having also "meanes of his owne left him by his parents," he, "without any persuasion (but God's and his own heart) did voluntarily leaue his warme nest; and to the wonder of his kindred, and amazement of them that knew him, undertooke this hard, but to my judgment, heroically resolution to go to Virginia and help beare the name of God unto the Gentiles."

Of his faithfulness and zeal we shall have occasion to speak again and again. We can well understand the purpose of Whitaker in leaving his "warm nest" to go to Virginia to assist that Christian plantation, in the function of a preacher of the Gospel. In the call for help, addressed by the Council to the people of England, the argument is employed that upwards of six hundred "of our Brethren by our common mother the Church, Christians of one faith and one Baptism," have been exposed "to a miserable and inevitable death" in adventuring upon this plantation, whom it was the bounden duty of their countrymen to aid. At length, aware of the mistake of transporting men of loose morals and depraved character to Virginia, the Council announced that they would receive "no man that cannot bring or render some good testimony of his religion to God, and ciuil manners and behaviour to his neighbour with whom he hath lived." The spiritual wants of those already in Virginia, and the promised possession of worthy and religious settlers in the future, made the "plantation of Religion" in the

<sup>61</sup>[Sir THOMAS DALE (d. Aug. 9, 1619) won his knighthood on June 19, 1606, because of his bravery in fighting in the Netherlands. The London Company felt that Virginia needed a strict disciplinarian, and appointed him marshal of the colony. Before departing, he married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Throckmorton.

On March 27, 1611, he set sail with three ships, carrying settlers, stores, and livestock. Eight weeks later he arrived at Point Comfort. Dale ruled the colony during Delaware's absence until August 1611, and then was relieved by Sir Thomas Gates. When Gates left in March 1614, Dale again assumed control. His severity enabled the colony to surmount the evils of insubordination, epidemics, Indian attacks, and famines, but the settlers charged him with cruelty and tyranny. But when he returned to England in 1616, he could boast that he had left Virginia in peace and prosperity.

The last two years of his life were spent as commander of an East India Company fleet, and he died of sickness in India. See *Dictionary of American Biography*, V, 34-35.—*Editor's note.*]



New World a worthy object of desire to zealous men filled with the love of souls, and of those who responded to this cry for spiritual help no one was more worthy of the work than was he who won the title of Apostle of Virginia, by his few years of devoted service. It was the glad response to the cheering words earlier borne across the ocean:

"Doubt not God will raise our State and build our Church in this excellent clime. It is the arm of the Lord of Hosts, who would have his people pass the Red Sea and the wilderness, and then possess the land of Canaan."<sup>62</sup>

In June, 1611, there accompanied Sir Thomas Gates, on his second voyage to Virginia, "an approved Preacher in Bedford and Huntingdonshire, a graduate of Cambridge, revered and respected,"<sup>63</sup> by the name of [Nicholas] Glover.<sup>64</sup> He was in easy circumstances and already somewhat advanced in years, but so earnest in his desire for missionary work that he sought the opportunity, and being "well liked of the Counsell" he went bravely to his post. But, as Crashaw tells us,

"he endured not the sea-sickness of the country, so well as younger and stronger bodies; and so, after zealous and faithful performance of his ministeriall dutie, whilest he was able, he gave his soule to Christ Jesus (under whose banner he went to fight; and for whose glorious name's sake he undertooke the danger), more worthy to be accounted a true Confessor of Christ than hundreds that are canonized in the Pope's Martyrlogie."

In the beginning of the year 1611, the health of the governor failed, under the cares and anxieties of his position, and the diseases incident to the climate,<sup>64-a</sup> and after a lingering illness he was compelled to com-

<sup>62</sup>True Declarations, pp. 45, 46.—Perry's note.

<sup>63</sup>Crashaw's "Epistle Dedicatorie."—Perry's note.

<sup>64</sup>[NICHOLAS GLOVER matriculated Sizar from Jesus College, Cambridge, Easter, 1584. B.A., 1588; M.A., 1591. When he accompanied Gates on the latter's second voyage to Virginia in 1611, Glover was "elderly" by the standards of the time. He died soon after his arrival. See E. L. Goodwin, *The Colonial Church in Virginia*, p. 272.—Editor's note.]

<sup>64-a</sup>[From a health standpoint, Jamestown was one of the worst places that could have been selected for a settlement. The malaria-ridden swamps thereabouts and the bad drinking water made sickness endemic. The death rate was appalling. One of the accomplishments greatly to the credit of the much-criticized Sir Thomas Dale (see above, Note #61) was that he checked the epidemics of malaria by founding a new settlement near the falls of the James River—the present site of Richmond:

"In a sweeping bend of the river, far from the mosquito-infested marshes of Jamestown, he built Henrico, enclosed a large tract of land with palisades, and laid out fields of corn" (*D.A.B.*, V, 34).

This was one of the reasons for the transfer of the capital of Virginia from Jamestown to the higher ground of Williamsburg, only a few miles away, towards the end of the century.—Editor's note.]



mit the administration of the government to George Percy,<sup>65</sup> and on Thursday, in Easter-week, March 28, to sail for England. Necessary as was this step, it could not but have a disastrous effect upon the colony, while it produced "a damp of coldness" in the breasts of the adventurers at home. Still "one spark of hope remained;" for, before the departure of De la Warr was known at home, Sir Thomas Dale,<sup>66</sup> "a worthy and experienced soldier in the Low Countries," had sailed for Virginia, with three ships, with men and cattle for the settlement at Jamestown. In June, 1611, Sir Thomas Gates, who had been named first in the original patent for Virginia, embarked with his wife and daughter, in a fleet of six ships, carrying three hundred men, with large supplies of cattle and stores. The relief thus afforded was most grateful. Already had the mishaps of the colonists excited the derision of the public.

"And whereas we have by undertaking this plantation undergone the reproofs of the base world," was the plaint coming from the dispirited and disappointed settlers, "insomuch as many of our owne brethren laugh vs to scorne," and "papists and players, . . . the scum and dregs of the earth," "mocke such as help to build up the walls of Jerusalem."<sup>67</sup>

The new-comers were welcomed with general thanksgiving. For the first time the settlement began to extend beyond the limits of Jamestown. A new plantation, seventy miles up the river, was founded, and a handsome church of wood was erected at the start. The "fair-framed Parsonage impaled for Master Whitaker," and the "hundred acres called Rocke Hall," set apart for the future support of the ministry in this new settlement, are referred to in the story of the first planting of Henrico.

Sir Thomas Dale, under whose leadership this step in the advance was taken, was a man of no ordinary character, and when, on the return of Gates to England, the sole command of the colony developed upon him, he displayed the earnest, patient, persevering Christian devotion of one who recognized "in whose Vineyard" he labored, "and whose church with greedy appetite" he desired "to erect." In a letter to a friend, still extant,<sup>68</sup> he professes that the end of his exertions was

<sup>65</sup>For GEORGE PERCY, *see above*, Note #57.—*Editor's note*.]

<sup>66</sup>[For Sir THOMAS DALE, *see above*, Notes #61 and #64<sup>a</sup>.—*Editor's note*.]

<sup>67</sup>From "A Praier duly said Morning and Evening vpon the Court of Guard," appended to "The Laws Diuine, Morall and Martiall."—*Perry's note*.

<sup>68</sup>Purchas, IV, pp. 1768-1770.—*Perry's note*.

"to build God a church;" and, although we may well condemn the spirit and letter of "The Laws Diuine, Morall and Martiall," which, as drawn up by William Strachey, the secretary of the colony, were transmitted to Dale by Sir Thomas Smith, the treasurer, we cannot doubt that even this code, which was both impolitic and inhuman, was administered by the "High Marshall of Virginia" with as much mercy as was possible.

With these laws, so far as they are "publique," or "martiall," we need not concern ourselves. Stern and inhuman as they appear, they reflect the spirit of the age, and their approval by Gates, who first enjoined them on his arrival, in 1610, and by De la Warr and Dale, will surely lead one to infer that the disorders rife in the colony required a rigorous repression, and the exercise of a prompt and summary severity.

This remarkable code is at the outset imbued with the religious temper of the time, and begins as follows:

"First, since we owe our highest and supreme duty, our greatest, and all our allegiance to Him, from whom all power and authoritie is derived, and flowes as from the first, and onely fountaine, and being especiall souldiers emprest in this sacred cause, we must alone expect our successe from Him, who is onely the blesser of all good attempts, the King of kings, the Commaunder of commaunders, and Lord of hostes, I do strictly commaund and charge all Captaines and Officers, of what qualitie and nature soeuer, whether commaunders in the field, or in towne or townes, forts or fortresses, to haue a care that the Almighty God bee duly and daily serued, and that they call vpon their people to heare Sermons, as that also they diligently frequent Morning and Euening praier themselues, by their owne exemplar and daily life and dutie herein encouraging others thereunto, and that such who shall often and wilfully absent themselues, be duly punished according to the martiall law in that case provided."

Among the offences punishable by the most severe penalties were speaking "impiously or maliciously against the Holy and blessed Trinitie, or against the knowne Articles of the Christian Faith"; the utterance of blasphemy or "unlawful oathes;" "the derision or despite of God's holy word"; and disrespect "unto any Preacher or Minister." It was strictly enjoined that "euerie man and woman duly twice a day, vpon the first towling of the Bell, shall vpon the working daies repaire vnto the Church to hear diuine service." The Lord's day was to be duly sanctified and observed by individuals and families "by prepar-

ing themselves at home with private prayer, that they may be the better fitted for the publike, according to the commandments of God and the orders of our Church." Every one was required to "repaire in the morning to the diuine seruice, and sermons preached vpon the Saboth day, and in the afternoon to diuine service and catechising." It was ordered that

"All Preachers or Ministers within this our Colonie or Colonies, shall in the Forts, where they are resident, after diuine Seruice, duly preach euery Sabbath day in the forenoone, and Catechize in the afternoone, and weekly say the diuine service twice euery day, and preach euery Wednesday, likewise euery minister where he is resident within the same Fort or Fortresse, Townes, or Towne, shall chuse vnto him, foure of the most religious and better disposed as well to informe of the abuses and neglects of the people in their duties and seruice to God, as also to the due reparation, and keeping of the Church handsome, and fitted with all reverent obseruances thereunto belonging; likewise euery minister shall keepe a faithful and true Record, or Church Booke, of all Christnings, Marriages, and deaths of such our People as shall happen within their Fort or Fortresses, Townes or Towne at any time, vpon the burthen of a neglectfull conscience, and vpon paine of losing their Entertainment."

Touching, indeed, was the prayer appended to these Laws and appointed to be "duly said Morning and Euening vpon the Court of Guard, either by the Captaine of the watch himselfe, or by some one of his principall officers." Words such as these, daily on the lips and in the hearts of the settlers, are of no little interest in determining the plans and purposes of the settlement.

"And seeing Thou hast honoured vs to choose vs out to beare thy name vnto the Gentiles; we therefore beseech Thee to bless vs, and this our plantation, which we and our nation haue begun in thy fear and for thy glory . . . And seeing, Lord, the highest end of our plantation here is to set vp the standard and display the banner of Jesus Christ, euen here where Satan's throne is, Lord, let our labor be blessed in laboring the conuersion of the heathen. And because Thou vvest not to work such mighty works by vnholly means, Lord sanctifie our spirits, and giue vs holy harts, that so we may be thy instruments in this most glorious work . . . And seeing by thy motion and work on our harts, we haue left our warme nests at home, and put our liues into our hands, principally to honour thy name, and aduance the kingdome of thy son, Lord giue vs leaue to commit our liues into thy hands; let thy angels be about vs, and let vs be as Angels of God sent to this people . . . Lord

blesse England our sweete natiue country, saue it from Popery, this land from heathenisme, and both from Atheisme. And Lord heare their praiers for vs and vs for them, and Christ Jesus our glorious Mediator for vs all. Amen."<sup>69</sup>

The growth of the colony under the new regime was rapid and healthy. Its leaders were men of singleness of purpose, and no pains were spared to encourage industry, to extend the limits of the plantations, and to provide, as we learn from "The New Life of Virginia," published in 1612,

"for the honour and seruice of God, for daily frequenting the Church, the house of prayer, at the tolling of the bell, for preaching, catechizing, and the religious observation of the Sabbath day, for due reverence to the Ministers of the Word, and to all superiours, for peace and love among themselves, and enforcing the idle to paines and honest labour . . . in a word, against all wrongfull dealing amongst themselves, or imperious violence against the Indians."<sup>70</sup>

The assignment of lands to the settlers for their individual use and ownership took the place of the former plan of cultivating the land in common, and good order and abundance were the result. The Indians were no longer hostile, and the strength of the colony was such that it no longer feared their assaults. In the quaint language of the writer of "The New Life of Virginia," "good" were "these beginnings wherein God is thus before."

It was at this epoch in Virginian settlement that the devoted Whitaker,<sup>71</sup> who had now spent nearly two years in the New World, contributed to the London press, then teeming with tractates on colonization, a thin quarto, entitled, "Good News from Virginia."<sup>72</sup> It was "a pithie and godly exhortation," as Crashaw styled it, coming from one who "diligently preacheth and catechizeth," performing "daily and diligent service, acceptable to God, and comfortable to our people."<sup>73</sup> It counselled self-sacrifice on the part of those at home, to relieve "the poore estate of the ignorant inhabitants of Virginia." It bespoke compassionate efforts in behalf of the "poore Indians," "naked slaves of the devil." Simple, straightforward, homely even in its diction, it waxed eloquent in its appeals for English cooperation in the good work undertaken "for the glory of God, whose kingdom you now plant,

<sup>69</sup>This "Praier" is, without doubt, the composition of William Crashaw [see above, Notes #38 and #45], several of its phrases, as well as much of its argument, being found in other writings of his.—Perry's note.

<sup>70</sup>Force's "Historical Tracts," I, p. 13.—Perry's note.

<sup>71</sup>[See above, Note #60, for WHITAKER.—Editor's note.]

<sup>72</sup>Published in 1613.—Perry's note.

<sup>73</sup>Crashaw's "Epistle Dedicatorie."—Perry's note.

and good of your countrey, whose wealth you seeke." "Awake, you true-hearted Englishmen!" is the impassioned cry; "you servants of Jesus Christ, remember that the Plantation is God's, and the reward your countrie's."

We can readily understand Crashaw's testimony to the zeal and ability of the mission priests of the Church of England, who had emigrated to Virginia.

"We see to our comfort, the God of heaven found us out, and made us readie to our hand, able and fit men for the ministerial function in this plantation, all of them Graduates, allowed preachers, single men, hauing no Pastorall cures, nor charge of children; and, as it were, every way fitted for that worke. And because God would more grace this businesse, and honor his own worke, he prouided us such men as wanted neither liuing nor libertie of preaching at home . . . Hereafter, when all is settled in peace and plentie, what marvell, if many and greater than they are willing to goe? But, in the infancie of this Plantation, to put their liues into their hands, and, under the assurance of so many dangers and difficulties, to deuote themselves unto it, was certainly a holy and heroicall resolution, and proceeded undoubtedly from the blessed spirit of Christ Jesus, who 'for this cause appeared that he might dissolve the works of the devill.' And though Satan visibly and palpably raignes there more than in any other knowne place of the world, yet be of good courage, blessed brethren, 'God will treade Satan under your feet shortly,' and the ages to come will eternize your names as the Apostles of Virginia."

Foremost among these "Apostles of Virginia," and worthy of honorable mention and lasting remembrance on the pages of the missionary annals of the Church of Christ, was Alexander Whitaker, to whom we have already referred.<sup>73-a</sup> It was by him that Pocahontas,<sup>74</sup>

<sup>73-a</sup>[See above, Note #60.—Editor's note.]

<sup>74</sup>[POCAHONTAS (c. 1595-March 1617), Indian "princess" whose personal name was Matoaka, was a daughter of Powhatan, head of the Powhatan confederacy.]

Capt. John Smith claimed in his *Generall Historie* (1624) that Pocahontas saved his life when he was captured by the Indians in 1608.

In the spring of 1613, Capt. Samuel Argall captured her and held her a prisoner as security for English prisoners and goods in the hands of her father.

Sir Thomas Dale, acting governor, was touched by her gentleness and intelligence, and she was treated with every courtesy. She was instructed in the Christian religion, renounced idolatry, and was baptized. She took the Christian name of Rebecca.

For her marriage to JOHN ROLFE, see above, Note #54. There can be no question that this marriage was a bond of friendship between the two races, "and it brought a peace which lasted eight years and greatly aided in establishing the colony on a firm footing." See *D.A.B.*, XV, 18-19.—Editor's note.]

the child of romance and song, was instructed in the faith of Christ, and admitted to holy baptism. Much has been written with reference to this Indian maiden whose name is inseparably connected with the history of the Virginia Church and State. There is little doubt but that the extravagant tales which find their place in Smith's "General Historie," and many of which have this simple Indian girl for their heroine, are exaggerations and of a piece with the marvellous stories which, late in life, that egotistical writer tells at length of his own career on the confines of Christendom in the East; but, when the romance has all been eliminated, enough remains to make us grateful to God for the conversion of this gentle Indian maiden, and her subsequent marriage to a young Englishman of family and repute.

The unsuspecting girl had been betrayed by some of her own people into the hands of [Samuel] Argall,<sup>76</sup> in 1612. Detained, with a view to secure from her father the return of men and stores which he had in possession, Pocahontas learned to love her captors, and in time an even more tender passion sprang up in her gentle breast for "an honest gentleman, and of good behaviour," named John Rolfe,<sup>77</sup> a widower, whose struggle of mind in reference to marrying an "unbelieving creature," "one whose education hath been rude, her manners barbarous, her generation accursed, and so discrepant in all nurture" from himself, is quaintly set forth in his own inimitable letter to Sir Thomas Dale.<sup>77</sup> Carefully instructed in the Christian religion by order of the governor, after she had made good progress therein, Pocahontas "renounced publicly her countrey Idolatry," and "was as she desired

<sup>76</sup>[Sir SAMUEL ARGALL (d. circa 1641) is one of those contradictory figures in history. The first permanent settlement of Virginia, on the one hand, owes a great debt to him, and, on the other hand, his administration as deputy governor was so tyrannical and oppressive that he had to leave Virginia.

First of all, in 1609 he pioneered the first "northerly" route to Virginia, proved its practicality, and saved ships from going the longer circuitous route from the Canaries to Puerto Rico in the West Indies.

Second, in 1610, he did more than any one person to procure fish from Cape Cod and corn from the Indians to save the starving and diseased-wracked colonists.

Third, in 1613, he broke up the French settlements on the coast of Maine, and saved New England for English settlement seven years later.

Fourth, Argall's capture of Pocahontas, in light of what followed, proved of signal value to the colonists in establishing peace with the Indians for the next eight years.

But when in 1617 Argall was appointed deputy governor of Virginia, his maladministration reduced the colony to a state of great poverty, and led to his recall to England. See *Dictionary of American Biography*, I, 345-346.—*Editor's note.*]

<sup>76</sup>For JOHN ROLFE, see above Note #54.—*Editor's note.*]

<sup>77</sup>Appended to Hamor's "True Discourse."—*Perry's note.*



baptised." Dale, writing to a London clergyman respecting this marriage, bears testimony to the worth and piety of the new convert:

"She liues ciuilly and louingly with him, and I trust will increase in goodnesse as the knowledge of God increaseth in her. She will goe into England with mee; and were it but the gaining of this one soule, I will thinke my time, toile, and present stay well spent."

This interesting marriage ceremony took place, we are told by Hamor, "about the 1st of April, 1613," and was solemnized in the little church at Jamestown, an uncle, Opachisco, and two brothers of Pocahontas, being present. The 1st of April was Maunday Thursday, and there can be little doubt, in view of the natural repugnance to marriages in Lent, that it was at Eastertide when this espousal took place. April 4, the date of the Easter feast in 1613, may well be held in remembrance, for in this union the future of the colony was assured. In 1616, Pocahontas accompanied her husband to England, in the train of Sir Thomas Dale, meeting with a gracious welcome, and finding, in the providence of God, a grave. Purchas, who grows garrulous in her praise, tells of the pomp and state with which Dr. King,<sup>78</sup> then Bishop of London, entertained her:

"beyond what I have ever seen in his great hospitalitie afforded to other ladies," and quaintly adds, "At her return towards Virginia she came to Grauesend, to her end and graue, having given great demonstration of her Christian sincerity as the first fruits of Virginian conuersions, leaving here a godly memory and the hopes of her resurrection, her soule aspiring to see and enjoy presently in Heaven what here shee had joyed to heare and beleeeve of her beloued Saviour."

Modest, dignified, and gracious, "the Lady Pocahontas," as she was called, carried herself "as the daughter of a king." Present at a representation at court of Ben Johnson's Masque, "Christmas," on the Feast of the Epiphany; referred to by the same great dramatist in another play,<sup>79</sup> as—"the blessed

"Pukahontas, as the historian calls her,  
And great king's daughter of Virginia;"

and courted and caressed by all classes and conditions of men, her brief career in England won for her many friends, and in her early death, at the age of twenty-two, there was the consolation that an infant

<sup>78</sup>[JOHN KING (d. March 30, 1621) was Bishop of London, 1611-1621.—*Editor's note.*]

<sup>79</sup>The "Staple of News," first played in 1625.—*Perry's note.*



son survived, among whose descendants many of the highest social rank in Virginia have been proud to number themselves. It was for "the good of the plantation," as Rolfe anticipated, that this alliance resulted. A lasting peace with the aborigines followed, and the friends of the "holy action" of Christianizing and civilizing the natives of the American forests, whose hopes had long been "languishing and forsaken," took heart again. The "pious and heroic enterprise" of bringing to the savages the knowledge of the gospel of Christ was again undertaken. The seed sown was at length beginning to take root, and spring up with the promise of a gracious harvest.

# The Establishment, Government, and Functioning of The Church in Colonial Virginia

By Spencer Ervin\*

"The continuous history of American society begins with the foundation of Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607. The continuous history of the Episcopal Church in America begins at the same time, in the same place, and with the same event. . . . This all-important fact is but one of many facts which give Virginia a significant place in American Church history. The Virginia establishment served, with some variations, as a model for those of other colonies in which legal provision was made for the Church. That characteristic feature of our ecclesiastical government, the select vestry, was first transplanted into Virginia, and began its distinctive American development there. . . . The bishop of London's attempt to govern the colonial Church through commissaries had its fullest trial in Virginia."



WITH these words, one of our eminent Church historians, Dr. William Wilson Manross, opens his review of the first volume of Dr. G. MacLaren Brydon's *Virginia's Mother Church*,<sup>1</sup> the second volume of which has now also appeared. These two detailed volumes may suggest that further writing on the Church of colonial Virginia is superfluous. However, an outline is sometimes useful, and the present essay is merely that. Moreover, it is concerned almost entirely with the establishment, government, and functioning of the colonial Church, neglecting all the biographical and other historical and descriptive material which enrich Dr. Brydon's work. My indebtedness to him will be obvious, but I cannot forbear to mention here a special debt for kindly and detailed answers to many queries, supplied, too, while he was still engaged with his own second volume.

The difficulties confronting the Church in Virginia, which form unfortunately so large a part of its history, cannot be well understood

\*Mr. Ervin is a lawyer, an active churchman of the diocese of Pennsylvania, and secretary of the Church Historical Society. His essay, "The Anglican Church in North Carolina," was published in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, XXV (1956), 102-161.—*Editor's note.*

<sup>1</sup>In *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, XVI (1947), p. 132. Full bibliographical references will be found in the Appendix.

without the perspective afforded by some knowledge of ecclesiastical conditions in the mother country during the colonial period. To these we now turn.

The English ecclesiastical system had of course no counterpart at first in the new land. At the commencement of colonization, none of its elements was present save a very few priests and the human raw material for parishioners. The story of the development of an Anglican ecclesiastical system in the American colonies, and especially in those where the Church was "established," that is, organized and supported through colonial legislation,<sup>2</sup> may best be regarded as the history of the effort to introduce into the new country such elements of the old system as could be provided, and to find acceptable, or at least workable, substitutes for such as could not be had, or which the colonists preferred not to obtain.

The old elements may be listed as bishop, ecclesiastical supervision, Church courts, patron, parson, parochial boundaries, the parochial suffrage, vestry or select vestry, wardens, church buildings and rectories, tithe, glebe, and fees. In terms of Church government and administration, the problems of the colonial Church were to get a supply of clergy; provide machinery for their appointment, installation, supervision, and removal; find funds for their support, and for building, equipping, and maintaining churches and rectories, and for the accessories of worship; to formulate and enforce an ecclesiastical discipline; to lay out parish bounds, order the election of wardens and vestrymen and define their duties; and, most of all, to obtain bishops.

### The Contemporary English Ecclesiastical System

A very general outline of the ecclesiastical system obtaining in England in the early seventeenth century may be ventured as follows:

<sup>2</sup>It is important to distinguish between "establishment" in the Church of England and in the colonies. The Church of England was and is termed "established," not because it has received or now receives monetary support from the state in the form of payment of the salaries of its clergy and other officers, provision of new or maintenance of old ecclesiastical buildings, or in any other manner, but solely because it is regulated by the secular law. The word "established" seems first to have been used in Canon III of 1603: "The Church of England by Law established under the King's Majesty." The nearest analogy may be that of a public service company, which is regulated, but certainly not supported, by the state. For the reference to Canon III of 1603, see Ollard, Crosse & Bond, *A Dictionary of English Church History* (3rd ed., 1948), 214; and for the relationship of Church to State: Cecilia M. Ady, *The English Church* (&c), London, Faber & Faber, 1940, pp. 9-15; Cyril Garbett, *Church and State in England* (London, 1950) pp. 126.

Parishes varied greatly in area and population. They were delimited territorially, though by the varying circumstances of their origins and not by formula. Their territory was not always compact: a detached portion of a parish lying ten miles away from the main area was not unknown, and some bits of territory never happened to become included in any parish.

The membership of a parish varied according to local circumstance and custom. It might include all who owned or rented land within the parish bounds, or only those who resided within these. The right to attend vestry meetings, and thus to take part in the government of the parish, followed no general rule. Payment of parish rates, residence, or headship of a household, might determine it, or it might be confined to male adults. However constituted, the vestry was in effect the "town meeting" of the parish. It probably dates back no further than the fourteenth century, and may owe its existence to the absorption of the revenues of many parishes by monasteries under the system known as "appropriation," requiring the inhabitants to assume a financial burden previously easily discharged out of the revenues of the benefice. The vestry had the limited privilege of assembling once a year to select some or all of the wardens; to pass upon the accounts of the outgoing wardens; and to administer the property of the parish; and the obligation, enforceable in the Church courts, to levy a tax sufficient to provide for the maintenance of the fabric of the church (except the chancel, which was the responsibility of the incumbent); to care for the churchyard; and to provide the accessories of worship.

Vestries were of two main types; what we may term the "open" or "general" vestry; and the "select" vestry: this latter being a body of one or two dozen filling its own vacancies and completely ousting the general body of parishioners from any part in parish government. The select vestry grew up sporadically over the greater part of England, but was common only in London, Westminster, Bristol, and the northern counties.

The incumbent was entitled to attend meetings of the vestry, but was not obliged to do so and his concurrence in its acts was not requisite. There was uncertainty as to whether he had a canonical right to preside at its meetings, though it was commonly assumed that he had.

The churchwardens, two, three, four, or even more in number, depending on local custom, were accountable to the vestry for their receipts and expenditures, as has been indicated. Who had the right to choose them depended again upon local custom, though election by

the vestry, "open" or "select," was probably the norm. Sometimes the incumbent had the selection of one. Canon LXXXIX of 1604 specified choice of all wardens by the joint consent of minister and parishioners, and "if they cannot agree upon such a choice, then the Minister shall chuse one, and the Parishioners an other. . . ." But local custom was too strong for the canons. The wardens were responsible to the bishop for provision of the maintenance and supplies noted above as required of the parish. In addition, they had to report to him upon the due performance of duty by incumbent and assistants; upon the morals of parishioners; and upon the condition of church, churchyard, parsonage, and accessories. Wardens were treated in law as having a quasi-corporate capacity to hold and sue for the personal property of the parish.

It is impossible to convey in this outline the great diversities in parish government. Mention must also be made of the fact that office in the parish was unpaid and generally regarded as a burden. Partly due to this, it is probably true that in few instances would parish administration meet any modern standard of efficiency. In addition to its ecclesiastical responsibilities, the parish was required, commencing with a vagrancy statute of 1536 (27 H.8 c. 26), to assume an increasing body of civil duties. These we have ignored both in this outline and in the description of the colonial Church of Virginia, where also they were cast upon the parish.<sup>8</sup>

The incumbent, the priest holding the parochial cure, might be a rector, with full right to all the income of the benefice from tithe, glebe and altarage (fees); a perpetual vicar, appointed by the rector, whether natural person or corporation, and paid a part of one or more of these revenues, with great variance from place to place; a perpetual curate, if

<sup>8</sup>The foregoing description of parish, wardens and vestries is derived chiefly from Vol. I of Sidney & Beatrice Webb's *English Local Government from the Revolution to the Municipal Corporations Act [1689-1835]* (Longmans, Green, 1906), the researches for which extend back sufficiently far to make them useful, with suitable caution, for our purposes. The Webbs provide the only satisfactory account I have found of the Select Vestry. Other sources include, but are not limited to:

Charles Drew, *Early Parochial Organisation in England: The Origins of the Office of Churchwarden*. (St. Anthony's Hall Publications No. 7, London 1954; pamphlet, 26 pp.)

G. W. O. Addleshaw, M. A., (&c), *The Beginnings of the Parochial System* (St. Anthony's Hall Publications No. 3, n.d., (1953)); *The Development of the Parochial System from Charlemagne to Urban II*, (*ibid.*, No. 6, 1954).

Richard Burn, *The Ecclesiastical Law* (9th ed., 1842, by Robert Phillimore; 4 vols.) Vol. I.

Felix Makower, *The Constitutional History and Constitution of the Church of England* (Tr; Swann Sonnenschein, London; Macmillan, N. Y., 1895).

Pollock & Maitland, *The History of English Law before the Time of Edward I* (2nd ed. 1899, Cambridge Univ. Press; Little Brown, Boston).

the person entitled to tithe and glebe (the rector) were a layman; or an unbeneficed stipendiary, paid an annual sum by the rector to relieve himself of the burden of the cure. Rectors and perpetual vicars were subject to heavy financial obligations to bishop and archdeacon; for support of clerical and lay assistants; for repair of the chancel and maintenance of parsonage or vicarage. Prior to the commencement of spoliation under Henry VIII, some incumbents were well off, some tolerably so; but many perpetual vicars and perpetual curates, and virtually all stipendiaries were very poor. The spoliations under Henry, Edward, and Elizabeth, impoverished bishoprics and parishes alike. A secular historian treating the period, 1603-1640, writes:<sup>4</sup>

The poverty of many of the clergy was disgraceful in an age rapidly growing richer. . . . Whitgift had declared in 1585 that out of 9,000 benefices more than half had incomes of not more than £10 and most of these not more than £8. . . .

W. H. Frere, reporting the large number of benefices vacant in 1563, says: "The cause in most cases was . . . the slenderness of the stipends."<sup>5</sup> And of the situation at the close of the century he says:<sup>6</sup>

So many benefices by themselves, owing to lay impropriations and other causes, offered no adequate living to the holder, and only one in fifteen had suitable remuneration for a learned and preaching minister.

The situation began however to improve in the first years of James I.<sup>7</sup>

The appointment of beneficed clergy (those who, as we shall see, had a tenure for life or good behaviour) was made by the owner of the so-called advowson, or right to present a cleric to the bishop for approval as incumbent; or by the possessor of the right to nominate. The ecclesiastical law distinguished presentation and nomination, because of the distinction made in the secular law between the holder of the legal title to the advowson and the person, if any, having the right to its benefit. The owner of the advowson might be a trustee, or a mortgagee, or he might have made a contract giving the right of nomination

<sup>4</sup>Godfrey Davies, M.A., *The Early Stuarts: 1603-1660* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, reprint of 1938 with corrections). Vol. 9 of *Oxford History of England*, pp. 67, 157.

<sup>5</sup>*The English Church in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I*, (Macmillan 1904). Vol. 5 in Stephens & Hunt, *A History of the English Church*, p. 105. See also, pp. 301-303, for a description of the spoliation from the dissolution of the monasteries to c. 1600.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, 277.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, 303-304.

to another. In these three instances, the holder of the legal title to the advowson retained the right of presentation, but the substance of it, the right to nominate, was in another.

The bishop could reject the presentee or nominee for lack of ordination, lack of canonical age, insufficient learning, heterodoxy, bad moral character, or on any ground which would be a cause for removal. As to this last, a late nineteenth century decision in an ecclesiastical court<sup>8</sup> states that:

... the punishment of deprivation has never been confined to any particular class or character of offences. Drunkenness, contempt, crime, dilapidations, incorrigibility, breach of the canons, disobedience to the Ordinary, incapacity, neglect of duties persevered in after warning, failure to observe the Book of Common Prayer, these with several others form a catalogue of offences, the most diverse in character and varied in gravity . . . it is not the particular character of an ecclesiastical offence which alone warrants the application of the censure, but the gravity of the offence in each particular case taken in connection with its attendant circumstances, and carefully weighed in the estimation of the Court.

To the list in the quotation above may be added heresy and immorality,<sup>9</sup> without thereby completing a list in its nature incomplete. But examination of these causes for removal will show that they add nothing to the grounds for rejection *ab initio*, since they relate either to causes included in these, or to causes which could arise only after tenure had commenced.

Concerning appointment, there was some conflict of opinion as to whether, in alleging his grounds for rejection, the bishop must reduce a general charge to particulars: for example, whether he need allege only that the presentee or nominee was heretical, or must specify the character of the heretical opinions; whether he need allege only that the presentee or nominee lacked sufficient learning, or must specify in what

<sup>8</sup>By Lord Penzance in *Combe v. Baghot De La Bere*, 6 Probate Division 157, (Archives Court of Canterbury, 1881).

<sup>9</sup>HERESY: *King's Proctor v. Stone*, 1 Haggard's Consistory Reporter 424, 161 English Reports Reprint 604 (Consistory Court of London 1808). IMMORALITY: *Burgoyne v. Free*, 2 Haggard's Ecclesiastical Reports 456 and 662, 162 E.R.R. 921 and 991 (Archives Court of Canterbury 1829, 1830).

Of course, suspension for a stated period may be imposed instead of deprivation. Examples are *Rowland v. Jones*, 2 Lee 191, 161 E.R.R. 309, drunkenness (Archives Court 1755); *Pawlet v. Read*, 2 Lee 565, 161 E.R.R. 441, sodomy (Consistory Court of London 1728).

On deprivation, see also, II Phillimore, *Eccle. Law*, 1082-1085 (1895).



respects his learning was insufficient. But these were matters of pleading only, that is, of defining the issues in advance of trial. Of the bishop's obligation to make proof upon being challenged to do so, there was no doubt. Either the patron or the presentee or nominee might make the challenge, or each could do so separately. The patron's challenge was in a secular court by writ of *quare impedit*; that of the presentee or nominee in the ecclesiastical court by *duplex querela*. But the patron was remitted to the ecclesiastical court if the facts alleged by the bishop were by the secular court ruled sufficient, if proved, to warrant rejection, save only where crime was alleged; in that case, the secular court itself tried the issue to a jury.

If the bishop did not reject the presentee or nominee, or if his rejection were not upheld, he then *instituted* him, immediately or by his vicar-general, chancellor, or commissary; that is, formally signified his placement in the cure: *Instituo te ad tale beneficium, habere curam animarum, et accipe curam tuam et meam*; with delivery of a ring, staff, cup, or something in token of the presentee's or nominee's possession of the cure. Institution is said to be purely feudal in origin, and it appears certain that it had no liturgical accompaniment. It was followed by *induction*, a ceremony performed by any person thereto commissioned by the archdeacon under mandate from the bishop; the inductor performed some act or acts symbolizing delivery of the physical possession of the church, its appurtenances and revenues, and accompanied it or them with appropriate words. Dr. Lowther Clarke says:<sup>10</sup>

It seems, therefore, that Institution and Induction are by origin two parts of a purely legal ceremony. The modern view, that Institution is the conveyance of the spiritual charge, may seem to be supported by the traditional phrase at Institution, 'Accipe meam curam et tuam,' but is not borne out by the older interpretation of the phrase. . . .

The result of institution and induction was to give the incumbent a tenure for life or good behaviour. I have not been able to find as yet any complete and satisfactory account of the origin or origins of this tenure. It seems to have been general, and not merely English, canon law, that an incumbent held for life or good behaviour. It seems reasonably certain that the "parson's freehold" is closely connected with the creation of the *beneficium*, or parish property placed beyond the

<sup>10</sup>In Clarke & Harris, *Liturgy and Worship* (Macmillan, corrected reprint, 1933), p. 718.

disposition of the bishop, and with the idea of the patron saint as the owner, and the parson as guardian.<sup>11</sup>

A well-known peculiarity of the English Reformation is that it left almost untouched the elaborate and cumbersome machinery of pre-Reformation administration and discipline.<sup>12</sup> Through influences which

<sup>11</sup>The reader may consult on the HISTORY OF PATRONAGE: Pollock & Maitland, *A History of English Law* (&c.) (2nd. ed. 1899) I, 497-499; E. W. Watson, in Ollard, Crosse & Bond, *A Dictionary of English Church History* (3rd ed. 1948), 441-445; Ulrich Stutz, *Geschichte des kirchlichen Benefizialwesens* (&c.), (Stuttgart 1895), 89-95 and *passim*; Imbart De La Tour, *Les Paroisses Rurales* (&c.) in *Revue Historique*, 67:1-35 and 68:1-54. [All the foregoing must be read with the caution as to the difference of opinion on origins given in G. W. O. Addleshaw, *The Development of the Parochial System from Charlemagne to Urban II*, (London 1954) 5]; Addleshaw, *ibid.*, 4-6, 9-10, 14-16; W. H. Frere, "Some Vicissitudes of English Parochial History," in *Church Quarterly Review* (July, 1913) 76:308-311; White Kennett, *A Discourse on the Grievance of Lay Patronage and Improvements* (&c.), (London 1850), pp. 9-25.

On the origin of Adowsons: Pollock & Maitland, II, 136ff.; W. S. Holdsworth, *A History of English Law*, 3rd ed. (1923), 3:139.

On the English law of PATRONAGE, and on procedure in bishops' challenges: Henry William Cripps, M.A., Q.C., *A Practical Treatise on the Law Relating to the Church and Clergy*, 5th ed., (1869), 553-566, and 8th ed. (1937) 254, 266-267; Richard Burn, *The Ecclesiastical Law*, 9th ed. (1842), I, 28, 43, 152-169, and the following decisions:

2 Inst. 631 (Lord Coke, 1641); Specot's Case, 5 Co. 58, Anderson 189, 3 Leonard 198, 77 English Reports Reprint 141 (1590); Bishop of Exeter v. Hele, Shower's Parliamentary Cases 88 (3rd ed. 1790, reprinted 1876; Parliament c. 1691); Bishop of Exeter v. Marshall, L.R. 3 English & Irish Appeal Cases 17 (House of Lords 1866); Willis v. Bishop of Oxford, L.R. 2 Probate Division 192 (Court of Arches, 1876-1877).

In *Gorham v. Bishop of Exeter*, the many reports of which, in the ecclesiastical court and on appeal, are cited in *XIX English & Empire Digest* (1924), pp. 392-394, the presentee's *duplex querela* suit resulted in a judgment for the bishop in the ecclesiastical court (1849), reversed on appeal to the Privy Council (1850). The only procedural matter considered was the matter of the time allowed the bishop under Canon XCV of 1604 to inquire into the sufficiency of the presentee, a subject which need not concern us here.

Walsh v. Bishop of Lincoln, L.R. 4 Admiralty & Ecclesiastical Reports 242, 43 L.J. Eccl. 13, 38 J.P. 692 (Arches Court, 1874), though a *duplex querela* proceeding, merely rules that one who is both patron and presentee may not maintain *duplex querela* and *quare impedit* at the same time. Some other cases cited in the texts and digests involve licenses rather than admissions to benefices. In the case of licenses, it seems that the bishop is not required to prove the sufficiency of his ground of rejection; his discretion is absolute: *The King v. The Archbishop of Canterbury and The Bishop of London*, 15 East. 117, 104 E.R.R. 789. Other license cases are: *Smith v. Lovegrove*, 2 Lee 162, 161 E.R.R. 299 (1755); *Hodgson v. Dillon*, 2 Curtis 388, 163 E.R.R. 448, 450, (1840).

On patronage challenges, see also Halsbury, *Laws of England*, 2nd ed., (1942), XI:691-694; Phillimore, *Ecclesiastical Law* (2nd ed. 1895), 316ff.

<sup>12</sup>A. Hamilton Thompson, *The English Clergy and Their Organization in the Middle Ages*, (Oxford Univ. Press, 1947) 71; W. H. Frere, *The English Church in the Reigns of Elizabeth & James I* (Macmillan, 1904), 157, 351; J. V. P. Thompson, *Supreme Governor* (&c.) (S.P.C.K. n.d., actually 1940) 16-19; J. Charles Cox, LL.D., F.S.A., *The Parish Churches of England*, 2nd ed. by Charles Bradley Ford (Batsford, London, 1937), 19; Cyril Garbett, *Church & State in England* (Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1950), 274.

antedated the Reformation, bishops had ceased to be great officers of state, although they had great importance to the government as agents for executing its ecclesiastical policies. But their visitations and the apparatus for them remained as before, although the matters inquired of now included loyalty to the Church, its formularies, forms of worship, and discipline, and to the crown.<sup>13</sup> The detailed provisions for church attendance, duties of ministers and wardens, and the like, which we shall find in the Virginia statutes, faithfully reproduce the prescriptions and attitudes of the mother country.

As to the bishops whose unpleasant task it was to enforce all the new requirements in an era of national danger, unsettlement, and violent partisan strife, a description of their mediaeval predecessors probably fits them also:<sup>14</sup>

The highest officers of the Church exercised powers which were pre-eminently judicial: their pastoral care was discharged, not in evangelical exhortation and pious encouragement, but in bringing their subjects to book for defaults against the spiritual code, and even their acts of grace were executed with a strictly legal propriety. In the eyes of those subjects they were first and foremost judges ordinary, the ordinaries whose tribunals were held in virtue of their office. They might, and habitually did, perform that office by delegation or deputy, but their powers in any case were corrective and were enforced by pains and penalties. . . .

. . . The benignant idea of a father in God and a shepherd of souls, with the tenderness and patience which it implies, no doubt existed in theory. But the prevailing aspect of the bishop's paternity was its severity, and in the attitude of the pastor to his flock the spirit of correction was more prominent than that of compassion. In the language of the episcopal chancery the charge which he bore was the duty of moral reformation among the people and clergy subject to his jurisdiction, of planting virtues and plucking and rooting out vices with the hoe of his ordinary power of correction. He was the *iudex ordinarius*, the normal judicial authority within his own diocese, from whose sentence there was within that area no higher court of appeal for the spiritual offender. When he went upon his ordinary visitation, he sat judicially as a tribunal. The texts of the sermons preached on such occasions contained notes of warning rather than encouragement.

<sup>13</sup>For the scope of these inquiries, see W. P. M. Kennedy, *Elizabethan Episcopal Administration*, I, xxxiv-cciv (Alcuin Club Collections XXVI, 3 vols., London and N. Y., 1924).

<sup>14</sup>The quotations which follow are from A. Hamilton Thompson, *The English Clergy* (&c.), 6-7 and 40-41.

The bishop's pastoral duty (as then conceived) to correct the morals of his clergy and laity was exercised not only by visitations to learn of misdoings but also by courts to punish these. Here offences brought to the attention of the court by its own officials, by clergy and wardens, and by informers, were corrected by the imposition of penalties or penance enforced by imprisonment and even by excommunication. An important part of the proceedings was the administration to the accused of the so-called *ex officio* oath, by which he was obliged to swear to make true answer to all the questions put to him. This entire ecclesiastical criminal jurisdiction was abolished by Parliament in 1641, and although the act which did so was repealed in 1661, that portion of it abolishing the *ex officio* oath was at the same time reenacted, putting a practical end to the powers of ecclesiastical courts over the laity.

Sir James Stephen says of these courts:<sup>18</sup>

The offences which appear from these precedents to have been made the subject of prosecution may be divided into two principal classes, namely, offences immediately connected with religion, and ordinary offences, and these last may be divided into offences which either did not, or did arise, out of the relation between the sexes. . . . I may observe, however, of all, that I know of nothing which in any degree resembled an ecclesiastical penal code. The courts seem to have had authority to punish anything which they regarded as openly immoral or sinful, without reference to any rule or definition whatever. . . .

. . . Such were the old ecclesiastical courts. I have tried to illustrate, as clearly as I could, the character of their jurisdiction. . . . The only difficulty which is suggested in the present day by the account given of it is to understand how people submitted to it so long as they did. It is difficult even to imagine a state of society in which on the bare suggestion of some miserable domestic spy any man or woman whatever might be convened before an archdeacon or his surrogate and put upon his or her oath as to all the most private affairs of life . . . , in fact as to anything whatever which happened to strike the ecclesiastical lawyer as immoral or irreligious.

Such, in outline, was the ecclesiastical system which the Virginia colonists left behind them in England. We shall find echoes of it in their attempts to carry the Church to their new country. But the compression necessary for the brief summary of it just concluded may convey a false impression of simplicity. The English ecclesiastical system was not simple but complex. Its complexity however was not

<sup>18</sup>Sir James Fitzjames Stephen, *A History of the Criminal Law of England* (Macmillan, London 1883, 3 vols.), II, 404, 412-413.

that of a well-contrived mechanism; but a complexity of incredibly amorphous and largely incompetent diversity: a huge collection of creaking and grinding machinery with a relation to religion which was historical rather than apt. That any religion survived its grotesque operations testifies to the goodness of God. Much of what has been left untold is unfavorable. The new age had to face too many problems of peace and safety to leave time for the reform of mediaeval ecclesiastical administration. We turn now to some general influences, affecting all the colonies, but especially those in which an attempt was made to "establish" the Church.

### Some General Influences

The first general influence was mere distance. Communication was slow, and, because of the perils of the sea and the risks of war and of piracy, hazardous as well.<sup>16</sup>

The second influence was conditions in England. The civil war of 1642-1649, and its aftermath the Commonwealth rule of 1649-1660, intensified and widened the ecclesiastical cleavage in Church and state, which had had its chief origin in the influx of Continental Protestants under Edward VI (1547-1553). Henceforth there were large groups: Roman Catholics, Presbyterians, and Independents of various sorts, outside the Church, and a Puritan group within it hostile to traditional Church doctrine and polity and continually pressing its views upon the government. The Revolution of 1688, brought on by the Romanizing policy of James II (1685-1688), resulted, under Dutch Calvinist William III (1689-1702), in the secession of the Nonjurors and the intrusion into livings and bishoprics of Continental Protestants, chiefly refugees harried out of France by Louis XIV after his revocation (1685) of the Edict of Nantes. The Whig supremacy, which followed the death of Queen Anne in 1714 and continued until 1761, brought into office the Erastian Walpole and his followers.

We must remember that colonization did not commence until the reign of James I (1603-1625), whose death may be said to mark the beginning of the open civil and ecclesiastical strife, which only ended

<sup>16</sup>On the time required for voyages, and the risks, see Greene, *Foundations*, 47-48, 242; Andrews, *Colonial Period*, I, 60-61; Sir Edward Midwinter, in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, IV (1935), 108-109, 285-286; Pennington in *ibid.*, VIII (1939), 206; Babcock, in *ibid.*, XII (1943), 225; Tiffany, *History*, 272-273; Chandler (a contemporary), as quoted by Cross, *Anglican Episcopate*, 168.

with the restoration of the monarchy in 1660 under Charles II (1660-1685). Upon the Restoration, the Church in England was busy for some years setting its own house in order. The remaining years of Charles II and, after the death of William III in 1702, the reign of Anne (1702-1714), were not long or continuous enough for concentration of thought and energy on the ecclesiastical problems of the colonies. Taking the period from the founding of Jamestown in 1607 to the commencement of the American Revolution in 1776 (169 years), the periods at all favorable for attention to the needs of the Church in the colonies may be roughly stated as 1607-1625 (the remainder of the reign of James I); 1675-1685 (from the consecration of Henry Compton as Bishop of London, midway in the reign of Charles II, to the death of Charles II); and 1702-1714 (the reign of Queen Anne). These periods total only 43 of the 169 years and they were in three separated segments of only 18, 13, and 12 years each.

The third influence, and the most important, was the failure of the Church in England to create colonial bishoprics. The three principal causes of this failure appear to have been (1) the successive unsettlements of government; (2) the close connection between Church and state, which put the Church at the mercy of rulers hostile or indifferent to it; and (3) the determined opposition of dissenters both in England and in America. A fourth cause may also be noted; the opposition of some clergymen and laymen of the Church in Maryland and Virginia in the eighteenth century.<sup>17</sup>

Another general influence affecting the colonies, diversity in the religious loyalties of immigrants, was not important in Virginia until about 1735, when Germans and Scotch-Irish began pouring into the Shenandoah Valley, but from that time on it made the organization of Anglican parishes in that area, and their administration when organized, difficult.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup>For the history of the efforts to obtain a colonial episcopate, the following references, almost certainly not exhaustive, may be consulted:

Cross, *Anglican Episc.*, 88-127, 144-225, 230-258, 261, 268-272 (probably the pioneer modern treatment); Manross, *Hist.*, 154-171 (perhaps the best summary); Greene, *Foundations*, 249; Tiffany, *Hist.*, 28, 33, 46, 76, 145, 152-155, 193-198, 267-268; Channing, *Hist., U. S.*, II, 432-434; Perry, *History*, I, 395-427; Pascoe, *200 Yrs.*, II, 743-749; Brydon, *Va. M.C.*, I, 118, 175, 182-184, 217, 500; II, 59-61, 342-359; Midwinter, in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE* IV (1935), 91-93, 110; Pennington, *Talbot*, 42-43, 51-54, 62-63, 104, 109, 115-116, 118, 121, 122-123, 127-128, 131-132 137-138, 141-142, 145, 152, 156; Wand, *Anglican Communion*, 10-13; Howard, *Preliminaries*, 206-221, 338; Thompson, *Into All Lands*, 97-100.

For the opposition in Virginia, see Brydon, *Va. M.C.*, II, 347-359.

<sup>18</sup>See Brydon, *Va. M.C.* II, 117-129, 247, 261. As to the presence east of the mountains of Quakers from about 1650, and Presbyterians from about 1680, see Brydon, I, 194, 197, 250 (Quakers), and I, 256 and II, 371 (Presbyterians).



Finally may be mentioned a lack of imagination in England. The authorities of the Church failed to perceive that the English parochial system, itself the product of a long growth, could not be transplanted effectually to a wilderness. The essential need was not for the immediate formation of parishes, but for mobile ministration in sufficient strength: a corps of unmarried itinerant clergy under accredited leaders to journey from place to place preaching, teaching, counselling, administering the sacraments, and gathering the nuclei of congregations, relinquishing their visits to an area as and when a settlement was in sufficient strength to support a resident priest. The successes of Keith, Talbot, and other S.P.G. missionaries, who held itinerant commissions or journeyed on their own initiative, indicate what might have been accomplished had this method been adopted on a more important scale and with greater means.<sup>19</sup> But even the zealous and progressive S.P.G. committed itself, in general, to the parochial idea.<sup>20</sup> A similar lack of imagination has hindered the development of the Church in Canada.<sup>21</sup>

### Relation of the Bishops of London to the Colonial Church

Another subject important to an understanding of the struggles of the colonial Church is that of its ecclesiastical and political supervision from England. By a curious if natural development, ecclesiastical super-

<sup>19</sup>For Keith, see Pennington, *Talbot*, 19-28, 31-35, 167-186; Pennington (ed.), "Keith's Journal," in *HIST. MAG.*, XX(1951), 343ff.; Perry, *History*, I, 206-222; and, briefly, H. P. Thompson, *Into All Lands*, 23-25.

For Talbot, see Pennington, *Talbot*; Perry, *History*, I, 212-219, 544-560; and, briefly, Thompson, *Into All Lands*, 63-65.

How the S.P.G. raised money, and how much it raised, is shown in Thompson, *Into All Lands*, 20, 35-37.

The purchasing power *today* of the pound sterling of the period of the S.P.G. effort is indicated by Klingberg in *HIST. MAG.*, XII(1943), 220, as about \$20 to \$25. to the pound.

Thompson says that from individual and group subscriptions there was obtained in the first ten years (1701-1711) an average per year of £1200. And he states that by means of "Royal Letters" issued six times in the 80 years from 1711, there was obtained £65,110 in all, which is an average of just under £814 per year. If the average for individual and group subscription for the first ten years was maintained, the total income would have averaged £2014 per year, which, taking the pound as worth \$20., would be \$40,280. per year. But this was for *all* the work of the Society; not just its work in the American colonies. And Britain was very prosperous: Klingberg, *supra*, 222.

Manross thinks that the S.P.G. had only lukewarm support: *Hist.*, 40. Greene says: "the church never gave the movement proper financial support" (*Foundations*, 250). Perry, *History*, I, 200, however, says "funds were lavishly supplied."

<sup>20</sup>See Thompson, *Into All Lands*, 45-46, 89.

<sup>21</sup>See F. G. Vial, "The Canadian Church," in *Church Quarterly Review*, Vol. 108 (July, 1929), 271.



vision came into the hands of the successive bishops of London, who were dependent, however, to an inconvenient degree upon the successive political government: monarchs and ministries. An outline of this development, and of the efforts of these bishops, must now be given.<sup>22</sup> In perspective, the activities of the bishops of London appear as the haphazard and hindered effort of the Church in England to provide essential ecclesiastical direction and supervision for the infant colonial Church. That it was haphazard, and chiefly a matter of individual initiative, is characteristic of the times. That it was hindered was due to state control of the Church.

In 1676, Henry Compton, made bishop of London in December, 1675, undertook an inquiry to learn what legal basis there might be "for the authority over the colonies which tradition attributed to his see."<sup>23</sup> He found none, but there certainly existed a precedent.

The proper place to look for the origin of the precedent—for it had a basis no more definite or authoritative—on which the Bishop of London's colonial jurisdiction rested, is in the Stuart policy, instigated by Laud, of seeking to extend the Church of England establishment to every part of the known world where the English government had a foothold. . . . Early in the year 1632 he sent suggestions to the Privy Council for the purpose of extending conformity to the national church to the English subjects beyond the seas.

These resulted in an Order of Council of October 1, 1633, ordering the Company of Merchant Adventurers at Delft and Hamburg not hereafter to

"receive any minister into their Churches in foreign parts without his Majesty's approbation of the person, and that ye Liturgy and Discipline now used in ye Church of England should be received and established there, and that in all things concerning their Church Government they should be under ye Jurisdiction of ye Lord Bpp. of London as their Diocesan." Here the Bishop of London's jurisdiction abroad began; and here it stopped, at least so far as the American colonies were concerned, until after the Restoration. But a precedent had been established, and, although incomplete, it was probably the basis of the tradition which came to connect the name of the Bishop of London with the diocesan control of the English colonies in all parts of the world, in America as well as elsewhere. . . . There are good reasons for concluding that, whatever may have been the original intention, no authoritative

<sup>22</sup>It is based chiefly on Cross, *Anglican Episc.*, and Labaree, *Royal Gov't*. A good short account is given in Morgan & Lloyd, *Mission*, 77-81.

<sup>23</sup>Cross, 12-13, 13.

action based on this order was taken, in the Laudian period, to extend the Bishop of London's jurisdiction to the American plantations, or to incorporate the churches there into his diocese.<sup>24</sup>

There seems to be no record among the English State papers of any instance of diocesan control by the bishop of London over the churches in America in the Laudian period. The connection of the bishopric of London with the ecclesiastical affairs of the colonies in America at a later period seems to have been due to these circumstances: Laud's tenure of the bishopric when he began negotiations for the control of Anglican congregations abroad; the fact that Juxon, who succeeded him (1633-1660) in this see, was his nominee and in sympathy with his policy; and the relation of London, as the great center of trade with the continent, to the foreign trading settlements which begat these congregations.

But even under Compton (1675-1713) and Gibson (1723-1748), who did most to attempt supervision, there was wanting both the clear and extensive grant of authority and the local financial support to make supervision sufficiently effective. Aside from distance, there was the primary fact that such colonies as had royal governors were under the control of the crown. These governors represented the sovereign as governmental head of the Church of England, and their instructions were founded on this status. They were ordered (except in dissenting Massachusetts and, prior to 1761, in New Hampshire) to see that the Book of Common Prayer was read on Sundays and holy days; the sacraments administered according to the rites of the Church of England; parishes settled and churches erected; maintenance, parsonages, and glebes provided for the clergy; that the clergy had due orders (i. e., had been ordained by a bishop), and that any of them who by doctrine or conduct caused scandal be removed. In the face of such a commission, an instruction issued in 1685 at the instance of Bishop Compton, that governors "give all countenance and encouragement in the exercise of" the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Bishop of London, was essentially a contradiction, creating dual authority.

Moreover, royal governors were given, except in Maryland where the proprietary had it by charter, the collation to benefices. *Collation* has a double meaning: it is either the admission and institution by the bishop to a benefice within his own gift; or it is the bishop's admission and institution by lapse, when the patron has failed to present within six months from the occurrence of a vacancy. The instructions to

<sup>24</sup>Cross, 15, 16.

governors do not specify which was intended. The bishop of London's part in filling cures, if part it could be termed, was limited to the issuance of a certificate that the presentee was "conformable to the doctrine of the Church of England," without which governors were not to present. The control of marriage licenses and of probates, then ecclesiastical functions in England, was important because of the related fees, possession of which by the bishop of London or his deputy would have been an important means of establishing his authority in the colonies.

The clause in the instructions to royal governors for the case of clergymen who caused scandal by their doctrine or behaviour, authorizing the governor to use "the best means," or, in instructions to Virginia governors, "the proper and usual means" for removal, indicates the indefiniteness with which important ecclesiastical matters were treated. Was the governor to request the bishop of London to remove the offender? And if so, how was the bishop to do so and yet comply with the ecclesiastical law requiring a charge, and proof and judgment, in his court? Was the governor to remove him? If he did, he would be acting beyond his powers and could be defied by the accused, and made subject to complaint as well. In Virginia, Maryland, and the Carolinas, the local legislature attempted to provide for the removal of scandalous clerics, and vestries devised an irregular system of one-year tenures.

An attempt to function effectively in the colonies through commissaries was made by Bishop Compton, and was continued by his successors until Thomas Sherlock (1748-1761) abandoned it in an attempt to force the creation of colonial bishoprics. Of these commissaries, James Blair, sent to Virginia in 1689, and Thomas Bray, sent to Maryland in 1699, were the first. Bishop Gibson obtained in 1728 a patent granting him "full power and authority," by himself or his commissaries, to exercise jurisdiction for the visitation of churches, and the disciplining of the clergy, with a right of appeal by the accused to the Privy Council. It was for the enforcement of these powers that succeeding governors were instructed, as previously mentioned, to "give all countenance and due encouragement" to their exercise. Gibson drafted and sent to each of his commissaries rules of procedure for ecclesiastical discipline, and gave public notice, which he ordered the commissaries to repeat locally, that he would not ordain men except on the commissary's recommendation and certification of the truth of his title, or, in the case of an assistant, of the incumbent's need for assistance. Sherlock, however, refused to appoint new commissaries and the number in office gradually dwindled to one. Nor did Sherlock's successors resume the Gibson policy.

It was in Virginia, Maryland, and the Carolinas, where the Church was in some degree and for some period (from the outset in Virginia) "established," that the commissaries were most continuous and active.<sup>25</sup> There seems to be little to indicate that in colonies where the Church was not "established" the commissaries played an important role. In Virginia, Maryland, and South Carolina, they had at times some influence and good effect. But the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction depends for continuous effectiveness upon respect for ecclesiastical authority, and ultimately upon the willingness of the secular government to enforce it. The power to coerce is as essential to the exercise of ecclesiastical as to that of any other kind of jurisdiction. Nor can coercion be immoral, so long as membership in religious societies remains, as it should remain, voluntary. Indeed, the failure to invoke coercion may be immoral, for it may result in the destruction of the society. Manross well says:<sup>26</sup>

A purely advisory authority nearly always fails, precisely because it is purely advisory. If judiciously exercised it may win the support of the majority who need no coercive discipline, but it breaks down sooner or later because of its inability to deal with the minority who do need such discipline.

Now in Virginia and Maryland, the royal governors, with some exceptions, the popular assemblies, and the laity generally, were hostile to the idea of commissaries and to their attempts to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The governor in Virginia, and the proprietary and the governor in Maryland, had powers conflicting to a considerable extent with those which the commissaries were supposed to exercise; and the assemblies and the laity had enjoyed two generations of some control over Church affairs before commissaries came on the scene, and retained, moreover, unpleasant memories of Church courts in England. Governors and proprietaries could refuse to recognize or further the commissaries' authority. Vestries could refuse to obey. And the cleric against whom discipline had been invoked had an appeal to the Privy Council. Cross says:<sup>27</sup>

Owing to the position in which the commissaries found themselves, they usually confined their activities to visitation, exhor-

<sup>25</sup>Activity of the commissaries in the Carolinas was confined to South Carolina.

<sup>26</sup>In *HIST. MAG.* XVI(1947), 148, reviewing Vol. I of Brydon's *Va. Mother Church*.

<sup>27</sup>*Anglican Episc.*, 59.

tation, supervision and administration, making very few attempts to exercise jurisdiction or to set up courts.

Dean Malden remarks:<sup>28</sup>

... It was impossible that a jurisdiction exercised from a distance of three thousand miles through commissaries could be effective. It was by no means certain that letters written from one side of the Atlantic would ever reach their destination on the other. If they did arrive safely they were necessarily some months en route.

In the colonies of "establishment," some commissaries bettered somewhat conditions which, without their action, would have remained bad or become worse, but they could not and did not enable the Church to make steady progress.<sup>29</sup>

Such were the general influences, and such the ecclesiastical system of the homeland, which were to affect the Church in colonial Virginia. We advance now to our main subject: the founding of the colony and the establishment of the Church in it. And first, of religious influences.

### Religious Influences in the Founding of Virginia

In the past there has been too little recognition of the fact that the founding of Virginia was largely, though not entirely, a religious enterprise. Virginia has been compared unfavorably with Puritan Massachusetts. But the truth is now being recognized. Thus the secular historians, Charles and Mary Beard, in a work of 1927, say, after describing the earliest days of the Virginia colony:<sup>30</sup>

Such were the beginnings of the colony which historians are accustomed to contrast with Puritan New England as if it were a secular enterprise carried out by freethinkers. As a matter of fact, if records are to be taken at face value, "neither the desire for treasure nor even the wish to promote the power of England" was the chief object of the Virginia Company; its heart was set on the glory of God and the propagation of the

<sup>28</sup>The Very Rev. R. H. Malden, dean of Wells, in Wand, *Anglican Communion*, 11.

<sup>29</sup>For other general estimates of the work of the commissaries, see Channing, *Hist. U. S.*, II, 431-432; Greene, *Foundations*, 249, 330; Pennington, in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, III (1934), 48-55, 111-119; Lydekker, in *ibid.*, XII (1943), 208-211; Osgood, *18th Century*, II, 22-23; Manross, *History*, 45-47.

For the Virginia commissaries, see Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 231-232, 287-289, 309ff.; II, 240-241, 269ff., 321ff., 341ff.

<sup>30</sup>Charles A. and Mary R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization* (Macmillan, 1927, 2 vols.) I, 46. See also, Andrews, *Colonial Period* (1934), I, 65-66, 106.

Christian faith among them that sat in darkness. In their advertisements for colonists the officers of the Company were at pains to indicate that they wished only settlers of correct religious life. "They also made careful provision for the maintenance of the religious habits they prized so highly; churches were built with such elaboration as their means allowed, and the practice of attending the daily services there was carefully enforced. . . ."

And again:<sup>31</sup>

It is true that the records of Virginia are not sown with Biblical quotations and with references to the wonder-working providence of God, but if statutes, orders, and decrees meant anything at all, then Virginia was as pious as Massachusetts and as devout as Plymouth.

But prejudice, local or religious, is difficult to down. In a film of 1954, depicting the coming of the Bible to America, the American Bible Society showed the Pilgrims, but not the Jamestown settlers, and stated in the accompanying script: "The English Bible was brought to America by the Pilgrim Fathers." In response to a protest by Dr. Brydon, one of the Society's secretaries wrote:<sup>32</sup>

As to our use of the Pilgrims rather than the Jamestown colony in indicating the coming of the Bible to America, you are undoubtedly right that the Bible was in Virginia before 1620. (I am not sure that one might not deduce that it entered America still earlier with the Spaniards and Henry Hudson!). But I think there is some real warrant for the view that the Bible *as such* was so outstanding a feature of the life, the political theory, the religious conceptions of the Puritans (and *vide* John Eliot's translation) that its impact as *Bible* is felt in our general American thinking as having registered more definitely in Plymouth than in Jamestown. I am sure this will not fully satisfy you but it gives the background of our thinking in so writing the text.

This seems to say that the Bible, when used by Anglicans, is not "real Bible".<sup>33</sup>

<sup>31</sup>Beard, I, 47.

<sup>32</sup>August 9, 1954.

<sup>33</sup>Having learned from Dr. Brydon of this correspondence, I requested and obtained permission for its use.

It is perhaps natural that the American Bible Society should not be interested in giving credit to Anglicans. This Society, like its congener and model, the British & Foreign Bible Society, is controlled by non-Anglicans. The Bibles which it distributes, except a few which it does not itself publish but makes available to Anglicans on special request, lack the Apocrypha.

In the script accompanying the film mentioned in the text above, no credit is given the English Church for either *Coverdale's Bible* or the *Great Bible*.



## The Founding of Virginia

### The Virginia Company. Royal Government.

The colony of Virginia was founded by a joint-stock company. The Virginia Company, as it was commonly called, was chartered in 1609, succeeding a prior company which had sent an expedition to the Chesapeake in 1606. By the charter of 1609 the territory of the Company was to extend 200 miles north and 200 south along the seacoast from the first settlement.<sup>84</sup> This settlement, made at Jamestown in April 1607, had as its sea entrance Old Point Comfort, from which the northern and southern seacoast boundary points were therefore to be measured. Owing to lack of information on the country, the western bounds were left completely vague: "up into the land, throughout from sea to sea, west and northwest." Their delimitation, much later, need not concern us. The southern boundary point was Cape Fear; because of the interfering grant to the second Lord Baltimore which the crown made in 1632, the northern boundary was fixed in 1668 and 1671 at a point roughly due east of the mouth of the Potomac River, some 75 miles northeast of Old Point Comfort.<sup>85</sup>

A new charter was issued to the Virginia Company in 1612, conferring supplemental powers and privileges. Bad business management, conflicts among the managers, the large amounts of capital required, and a massacre by the Indians of about 400 of the most seasoned colonists in 1622, brought about the intervention of the crown and the forfeiture of the charter in 1625, whereupon the colony became a royal colony. In actuality, it had been one since 1623, at which time the affairs of the Company had been placed under the supervision of the Privy Council.<sup>86</sup>

The government and policy of the Company were Anglican, although some of the influential members, notably Sir Edwin Sandys, were of the Puritan wing of the Church.<sup>87</sup> The Company took pains to find

<sup>84</sup>This charter will be found in Hening, I, 80ff., and of course elsewhere. For a list of reprints, see Andrews, *Colonial Period*, I, 82, n.3.

<sup>85</sup>Andrews, *Colonial Period*, II, 359-360, and Map #19 in J. T. Adams (ed.), *Atlas of American History* (Scribners, 1943).

<sup>86</sup>For the history of the Company, see, chiefly, Andrews, *Colonial Period*, I, 98-140, 165-179. For the causes of the revocation of the charter, see *ibid.*, I, 165-179, and Greene, *Foundations*, 58-59. For the contents of the three charters (1606, 1609, 1612), see Andrews, *supra*, I, 84-88, 102-104, 116-118.

<sup>87</sup>On Sandys, see Channing, *Hist. U. S.*, I, 189-193; Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 8-9, 18. On Puritan influence in the Company, see Brydon, *supra*, and I, 25; McKinley, *Suffrage*, 17-18; Manross, *Hist.*, 12. As to the change in influence after the crown took over, see Brydon, I, 9.



and send out to Virginia respectable Anglican clergymen,<sup>38</sup> and the instructions and acts of the governors it appointed favored the Church.<sup>39</sup>

The royal governors who followed those appointed by the Company had specific instructions to aid the Church.<sup>40</sup> The members of the Governor's Council, and the great majority of the burgesses who represented the freeholders of the colony, appear to have been Anglicans, although the absence of bishops, and the circumstances of colonial life, made them highly independent ones. A majority of the population of the colony was Anglican throughout the colonial period, although dissenters became more numerous toward its close, especially in the inner counties.<sup>41</sup>

### Physiography

The physiography of the country and its economic life had far-reaching effects upon the Church. Numerous rivers—the Rappahannock, York, James, Roanoke and their tributaries—flow southeast or east into the ocean along the Virginia coast. Along and between the rivers was virgin forest. The cultivation of tobacco, commenced early and by 1627 amounting to a production for export of half a million pounds,<sup>42</sup> so rapidly exhausted the soil that, especially with primitive methods of cultivation, large holdings of land were requisite to make it profitable. In consequence of these circumstances, the population, until the immigration into the mountain area from about 1730, was solely along the rivers, in scattered settlements. Communication inland was difficult: roads in the colony never became good, and travel inland was by horseback. Attendance at church, and pastoral ministrations, under these conditions, were alike difficult. As there were no parochial endowments, the clergy were supported by local taxation, as will be shown. The dilemma therefore presented itself that a parish small enough in area

<sup>38</sup>Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 9, 18, 46, 419. All were of the Puritan wing: *ibid.*, I, 18, and *see*, 22-23, 25.

<sup>39</sup>*See* Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 15-16, 25.

<sup>40</sup>For these, *see* Labaree, *Royal Instructions*, II, 482-490, #694-#708.

<sup>41</sup>As to the preponderance of Anglicans, *see* Wertenbaker, *First Americans*, 115; Greene, *Foundations*, 330-332; Manross, *Hist.*, 72-73; Greene, *Revolutionary Generation*, 99-100 and 164; and especially the figures of Brydon in *HIST. MAG.*, X (1941), 90-91, which seem conclusive.

<sup>42</sup>Wertenbaker, *First Americans*, 22.

to make attendance at church, and pastoral ministrations, reasonably possible, contained too few persons to provide adequate support for its parson; and a parish large enough in area to provide such support made both attendance and ministrations onerous.<sup>43</sup>

### The Government of the Colony

Government was in the hands of a governor, appointed at first by the Virginia Company and later by the crown; a Council of State, or Governor's Council, chosen nominally by the crown, but often actually by the governor, and drawn from the local aristocracy; and a House of Burgesses, chosen at first by manhood suffrage, but after 1670 by freeholders.<sup>44</sup>

The governor of Virginia, like all royal governors, had control of marriage licenses and of probates and the power to collate to benefices, and to induct into them. He it was to whom the bishop of London sent, for commendation to benefices, men he had approved and licensed for the colony. In Virginia, the governor had also the right to investigate infractions of the laws of the colony relating to the Church, and to issue process for attendance before the Council, sitting with him, by invitation, as a court to hear ecclesiastical disputes.<sup>45</sup>

The Council of State was Governor's Council, upper house of the Assembly, and court. In this last capacity it heard and determined, with or apart from the governor, complaints by or against parsons, ves-

<sup>43</sup>On all this, see Wertenbaker, *First Americans*, 115-120; Brydon *Va. M. C.*, I, 80-82, 180-181, 367; and the digest of Virginia's Cure, by R. G., (1661), in Anderson, *C. of E. in Colonies*, II, 353-354.

<sup>44</sup>For Governor and Council, see Flippin, *Royal Gov't Va.*, 60-188; Labaree, *Royal Gov't*, 135; Andrews, *Colonial Period*, I, 184, 190-191, 192, 194-196, 204-205; Channing, *Hist. U. S.*, I, 232-234; II, 245; Greene, *Provincial America*, 65, 207; Greene, *Foundations*, 59; Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 35, 62, 64, 66, 227, 445.

As to the aristocratic character of the Council, see Channing, II, 81, 245; Greene, *Provincial America*, 65, and *Foundations*, 81, 326; Andrews, *Colonial Self-Gov't.*, 208.

The curious development by which a House of Burgesses came into being is described in Andrews, *Colonial Period*, I, 180-205; Greene, *Provincial America*, 66-67.

For the franchise in the early period, see Andrews, *Colonial Period*, I, 184-185; McKinley, *Suffrage*, 21-22. For the period 1654-1670, see McKinley, 27-29. For the period from 1670, see Andrews, *Colonial Self-Gov't.*, 208-209; McKinley, 30-31. For special suffrages in certain towns, see McKinley, 42-44.

<sup>45</sup>See the opinion of the Council of May 29, 1683, in McIlwaine, *Exec. Jnls. Council*, I, 496, that the governor is "only head of the Church, and therefore sole judge in all ecclesiastical parochial affairs, and that the Council hath nothing to do with it; whereupon the Governor desired the assistance of the Council." For comment, see Brydon: *Va. M. C.*, I, 226-227. For the statutes on which the power of the governor at least in part rested, see the next note.

tries, and parishioners.<sup>46</sup> The records show that these complaints were various, and also that the Council sometimes sat as a court without the governor.

## Establishment and Government of the Church

If the Church was to be "established" in Virginia, legislation for its organization, support, and management was necessary. This was provided at first by the Virginia Company's representatives in the colony,<sup>47</sup> and by the Company itself in England,<sup>48</sup> and later by the colonial legislature. This legislation, in its principal aspects, we may now examine, observing, however, that the laws relating to the Church were not infrequently revised, and that the provisions of one code are not necessarily all to be found in the next succeeding one.

Parishes were territorially delimited, although the boundaries were often changed to meet changing conditions. The first parishes were the first four boroughs of the colony.<sup>49</sup> The original plan was to make each borough and "plantation" a parish. But the areas of plantations were to be increased, it was provided, by bonuses of additional acres to owners for settlers brought in. This fact, and the difficulty of establishing cities in a tobacco-growing country, caused a change, after the Company went out of existence, to the county as the normal original parish.<sup>50</sup>

The construction and repair of church buildings was prescribed. The Company seems to have required proprietors of plantations to erect

<sup>46</sup>Under Act IV of February-March, 1631/32, Hening, I, 156; Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 427-428: disparagement of ministers; Act I of March, 1642-43, Hening, I, 242; Brydon, I, 438, 441-442: "neglect or misbecoming behaviour" of ministers; Act IV of March 1661/62, Hening, II, 46; Brydon, I, 457, 457-458: unaccredited ministers.

These are the most important acts. But the successive ecclesiastical codes of the colony, printed usefully by Brydon (I, 426ff.; 435; 436ff.; 445ff.; 452ff.; 469; 470; 471; 472f.; 474; 475ff.; 477; 478) had other disciplinary provisions. The reader is cautioned that the typography of the appendices in which these codes are given is such as to make it difficult to ascertain just what Act is in question.

<sup>47</sup>Their laws are given in Force, *Hist. Tracts*, III, item II. Brydon gives excerpts in his *Va. M. C.* I, 411-413.

<sup>48</sup>The Company's legislation in England is given in Kingsbury, *Records Va. Co.*, III, 98-109. There are excerpts in Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 414-417.

<sup>49</sup>Broadside, or printed and published letter of instructions, issued by the Company to the Governor and Council, printed in Kingsbury, *Records Va. Co.*, II, 275-280; excerpts in Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 44-45.

<sup>50</sup>See Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 40, 81-82, 87, 96, 378-379, 435. As examples of the alteration of parish boundaries, Acts XIV and XVII of March 1642/43, Hening, I, 249-257, are illustrative.

churches.<sup>51</sup> Subsequently, the requirement was taken over by the colonial legislature, and extended to include provision for repair and for graveyards.<sup>52</sup>

The qualifications, duties, and conduct of clergymen were prescribed. The qualifications consisted simply of conformity to the Church of England, and, commencing in 1661/62, possession of a testimonial of ordination.<sup>53</sup> The duties scheduled were reading divine service, preaching, celebrating the Holy Communion, catechizing, celebrating marriages (observing requirements as to place, hours, banns, and licenses), visiting the sick, recording christenings, marriages, and burials, residing within the cure.<sup>54</sup>

As to conduct, the minister was to abstain from excess in drink, from idling at dice, cards, or other unlawful games, and from "neglect or misbecoming behaviour"; and to occupy himself with Scripture-reading or study; and in general to set an example.<sup>55</sup> The "neglect or misbecoming behaviour," prohibited by an Act of 1642/43,<sup>56</sup> was by the same Act made cause for "suspension or other punishment" by the governor and council, "removeall of such ministers to be left to the Grand Assembly." As to removal by the General ("Grand") Assembly, Dr. Brydon writes:<sup>57</sup>

I do not know of any case in which a clergyman was tried by the General Assembly under that early act. I think it was felt generally that the trial of a clergyman by a civil court, and the infliction of a sentence of deprivation or deposition was contrary to the whole *genius* of the Church of England, and

<sup>51</sup>See the passage in Kingsbury, *Records Va. Co.*, III, 131, and in Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 85.

<sup>52</sup>Act I of March 1623/24, Hening, I, 122-123; Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 85; Act XVII of September 1631/32, Hening, I, 185; Brydon, I, 433; Act I of March 1642/43, Hening, I, 241; Brydon, I, 438; Act I of March, 1661/62, Hening, II, 44; Brydon, I, 453; Act XIV of same session, Hening, II, 52; Brydon, I, 464-466.

<sup>53</sup>Act I of March 1629/30, Hening, I, 149; Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 88, 88-90; Act LXIV of March 1642/43, Hening, I, 277; Brydon, I, 444; Act IV of March, 1661/62, Hening, II, 46; Brydon, I, 457-458; Order of Governor's Council of May 15, 1691, McIlwaine, *Exec. Inls. Council*, I, 176; Brydon, I, 242, n. 21, and see *ibid.*, 233, for the information before the Council leading to the order: viz., that in some parishes there were non-conforming ministers.

<sup>54</sup>Acts of July-August, 1619, discovered after Hening's compilation was made, and printed in McIlwaine, *Inls. H. of B.*, 1619-1658/59, 13 (see Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 83); Acts III, V, VI, VII, IX, X, XII, XIII of February-March, 1631/32, Hening, I, 180-183; Brydon, I, 427-430; Acts VI, VII, VIII, XII, XVI of March 1661/62, Hening, II, 49-51, 54; Brydon, I, 459-460 and 463-464, 466; Act II of February 1644/45, Hening, I, 290; Brydon, I, 446.

<sup>55</sup>Act XI of February-March 1631/32, Hening, I, 158; Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 430; Act I of March, 1642/43, Hening, I, 242; Brydon, I, 438, 441-442.

<sup>56</sup>Cited in note 55.

<sup>57</sup>In a letter to this author, of November 22, 1948.

for that reason this provision was eased out of the Code of Virginia at its next revision. [March 1661/62.] They had found by that time that the vestries could handle the matter by employing from year to year without induction, and could drop the unworthy minister without having to present him for trial. . . .

The people of Virginia believed that a clergyman should not be tried by a civil court, and they believed in the system of advowsons and induction and the rights of the clergyman—and they wanted to continue such things just as far as they could under colonial conditions. For that reason they did not abolish induction into the rectorship. They wrote it into their law that a governor might induct a minister into the rectorship if the vestry presented him. The vestry as a rule did not present for the simple reason that there was no legal and ecclesiastical canonical way of getting an inducted minister out if he turned sour. Even at that some few ministers in every generation were inducted. But usually only after the vestry and the people had come to know the man, and believe in his integrity and love him.

An Act of 1661/62<sup>58</sup> allowed the Governor and Council to suspend, and in case of "obstinate persistence" to expel from the country, anyone presuming to officiate without having produced to the governor a certificate of ordination and conformity, but it did not touch scandalous conduct. An Act of February 1676/77,<sup>59</sup> repealed by proclamation on July 6, 1680, imposed disqualification from officiating in the colony for a third conviction for "drunkingnesses, swearing, fornication or other haynous and crying sins"; but as Brydon points out, it did not deprive the offending parson of his benefice; he could still own his glebe and claim his salary. Moreover, the act was in effect but a short time.

The duties of wardens, mostly as found in the English ecclesiastical law of the period, and not as we know them today in America, were also prescribed. Wardens were to "present" to the minister, for suspension from the privileges of the Church, persons guilty of "enormous sinnes," and (no penalty mentioned) guilty of lesser kinds of evil living, and to present them also to the Quarterly Court.<sup>60</sup> They were to hand into the same court reports of marriages, baptisms, and funerals, and

<sup>58</sup>Act IV, Hening, II, 46; Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 457.

<sup>59</sup>Act V, Hening, II, 383; Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 473-474.

<sup>60</sup>Act (no number) of July-August 1619, McIlwaine, *Jnls. H. of B.*, 13-14; excerpt in Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 83; Act XIX of March, 1623/24, Hening, I, 126; mention in Brydon, I, 86; Act VII of September, 1632, Hening, I, 182-183; Act I of March, 1642/43, Hening, I, 240-243; Brydon, I, 437, 442-443; Act XIII of March 1661/62, Hening, II, 51; Brydon, I, 464.

their accounts.<sup>61</sup> They were to see to attendance in church on Sundays and holy days,<sup>62</sup> and that children were brought for catechising.<sup>63</sup> It was their duty to give notice to parishioners to bring in tobacco levies for the minister's salary,<sup>64</sup> and to tithe them for building or repairing the church, and then hire the necessary workmen.<sup>65</sup> Wardens were chosen annually by "minister and vestry."<sup>66</sup>

Vestries were set up probably as early as 1634.<sup>67</sup> The legislative session of March 1642/43 ordered them chosen, together with two wardens, in each parish, but did not prescribe their numbers, term of office, or either the suffrage or proceedings for their election.<sup>68</sup> An Act of February 1644/45 gave the choice to "the major part of the parishioners . . . by pluralitie of Voices."<sup>69</sup> In March 1661/62, an Act provided that the vestrymen themselves should fill vacancies in their number, and made the number twelve, of whom two were to be wardens.<sup>70</sup> Except for a brief period commencing in 1676, when Bacon's Assembly ordered an election of vestries every three years by the "freeholders and freemen" of each parish,<sup>71</sup> there was never in the colonial period any limitation of term, and vestries were self-perpetuating. As to the qualifications for electors of vestrymen, when for any reason a new vestry had to be elected, as in the case of the formation of a new parish, the Governor and Council laid down in 1708 with reference to a particular election then approaching, a rule<sup>72</sup> which was followed by the Assembly in later acts. It was that every freeholder and house-

<sup>61</sup>Act III of February-March, 1631/32, Hening, I, 155; excerpt in Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 90; Act III of September, 1632, Hening, I, 180, Brydon, I, 427; Act I of March, 1642/43, Hening, I, 240-243; Brydon, I, 437, 443.

<sup>62</sup>Act II of September, 1632, Hening, I, 180; Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 426-427.

<sup>63</sup>Act VIII of September, 1632, Hening, I, 182-183; Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 429, 429-430.

<sup>64</sup>Act XVI of September, 1632, Hening, I, 182-183; Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 432; Act I of March, 1642/43, Hening, I, 240-243; Brydon, I, 438-439; Act XI of September, 1696, Hening, III, 151-153.

<sup>65</sup>Act XVII of September, 1632, Hening, I, 182-183; Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 433; Act XIV of March, 1661/62, Hening, II, 51; Brydon, I, 464-465.

<sup>66</sup>Act II of March, 1661/62, Hening, II, 44-45; Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 454, 454-455. Earlier Acts did not state by whom the choice was to be made, relying perhaps on the English canon: LXXXIX of 1604, by which wardens were to be chosen jointly by minister and parishioners, save in case of disagreement, when the minister was to choose one, and the parishioners "an other."

<sup>67</sup>See Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 91-93 and 440.

<sup>68</sup>Act I, March, 1642/43, Hening, I, 240; Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 437, 439.

<sup>69</sup>Act V, Hening, I, 290-291; Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 447.

<sup>70</sup>Act II, Hening, II, 44-45; Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 454.

<sup>71</sup>Act VI of 1676, Hening, II, 356, later disallowed and never reenacted: see Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 455.

<sup>72</sup>Text in McIlwaine, *Exec. Jnls. Council*, III, 186.



holder paying scot and lot in the parish, and no other, have a vote. McKinley, commenting on this rule,<sup>73</sup> states that it conferred a suffrage broader than that for elections to the Assembly.

Vestrymen were required by an Act of March 1661/62 to "subscribe and be conformable to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England."<sup>74</sup> Among the duties and privileges of vestries, the following are important:

To make levies and assessments for building and repairing churches and chapels, payment of the parson's salary, and other necessary things.<sup>75</sup>

To lay out a glebe and provide a parsonage.<sup>76</sup>

To elect the parson and present him to the governor for induction.<sup>77</sup>

### Governor and Vestry

Four matters of dispute between governors and vestries arose under the legislation last mentioned: (1) whether governor or vestry had the right to choose the parson; (2) whether vestries must present for induction; (3) whether the governor could appoint in case of lapse; (4) whether colonial legislation could supersede crown powers conferred upon the governor by his commission.

The right to choose parish priests was originally in the Virginia Company, as patron, under English ecclesiastical law,<sup>78</sup> or in proprietors of large tracts, "plantations," or "hundreds," to whom the Company had relinquished this right for their respective areas.<sup>79</sup> After the dissolution of the Virginia Company in 1625, the Governor and Executive

<sup>73</sup>*Suffrage*, 45-46. The text of the Council rule, as he prints it, varies slightly but not substantially from the text in McIlwaine.

<sup>74</sup>Act II, Henning, II, 44-45; Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 454.

<sup>75</sup>Act I of March, 1642/43, Henning, I, 240; Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 437; Act II of March 1661/62, Henning, II, 44-45; Brydon, I, 454.

<sup>76</sup>Act III of March, 1661/62, Henning, II, 45; Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 456, 457 (this act does not specify upon whom the duty of provision lies, but Act II of the same session makes it clear that the vestry is the agency); Act XI of September, 1696, Henning, III, 151-153.

<sup>77</sup>Act I of March 1642/43, Henning, I, 242; Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 438, 441; Act IV of March 1661/62, Henning, II, 46; Brydon, I, 457, 457-458 (this act provided *inter alia* for induction, but election is rather implied than mentioned.)

<sup>78</sup>See McIlwaine, *Minutes C. & G. C.*, 22, for a recognition by the Council of the Company's right (quotation in Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 42). And see Brydon, in *HIST. MAG.*, XII(1943), 332.

<sup>79</sup>Kingsbury, *Records Va. Co.*, III, 276-277 (quotation in Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 44-45). And see Brydon, in *HIST. MAG.*, XII(1943), 332-333.

Council hesitantly nominated<sup>80</sup> until legislation of 1642/43, or perhaps of 1634,<sup>81</sup> gave the nomination to vestries.

We have seen that in England the person chosen for the cure—presentee or nominee as the case might be<sup>82</sup>—must be both instituted and inducted. But in the colonies nothing concerning institution appears in official documents. Perhaps this was because it was induction which in England made the parson secure against ouster, and was the important act from the viewpoint of those concerned in the struggle for control of clerical appointments in the colonies. Or institution may have been regarded as already conferred by the bishop of London's approval of the parson for colonial service. But all this is guessing; what is certain is that institution dropped out. Induction was made a function of the royal governors, though rather by implication than by any definite provision in their commissions and instructions making use of the term.

We have also seen that in England ouster of a parson once inducted required a proceeding in the bishop's court.<sup>83</sup> But in the colonies there were no such courts, and in Virginia, except in the period from 1728 to 1748, when Bishop Gibson, acting under a royal patent, was able to confer upon his commissary power to hold trials, there was no canonical provision for ouster.<sup>84</sup> Virginia governors were, indeed, instructed to apply, in the case of parsons causing scandal by their doctrine or manners, "the proper and usual means" for their removal.<sup>85</sup> If this had a definite meaning, it could refer only to the presentation of charges in the court of the proper bishop. But was there any proper bishop? Virginia was not part of the diocese of London. Bishop Gibson's patent of 1728<sup>86</sup> did give power "to correct and punish colonial incumbents whether by amotion, suspension, excommunication, or any sort of Ecclesiastical censure," but the patent lapsed with Bishop Gibson's death in 1748, and in his lifetime there seems to be no record of a deprivation made under it; the suspension of two Virginia ministers by Commissary

<sup>80</sup>See Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 45, 88, and comment on Act XVII of 1631/32 at 433; also Brydon, in *HIST. MAG.*, XII (1943), 333.

<sup>81</sup>Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 93; *HIST. MAG.*, *ibid.*, p. 334.

<sup>82</sup>See the text above, at Note #10. In the colonies, where there would seldom if ever be a division of legal right and beneficial right, all choices would be presentees. But in general I have used the terms nominee, nominate, and nomination, in discussing action in the colonies.

<sup>83</sup>See the text above, between Notes #24 and #25. And cf. Canon CXXII of 1604.

<sup>84</sup>The abortive act of Assembly for removal by the Assembly, never acted upon and soon repealed, has been noticed above at Note #57. For other abortive efforts, see Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, II, 327-333.

<sup>85</sup>Labaree, *Royal Instructions*, II, 4484-4485, #697.

<sup>86</sup>Printed in Cross, *Anglican Episc.*, 289-293.

Blair was effected by suspension of their license.<sup>87</sup> One is tempted to suppose that the clause in royal instructions to governors of Virginia to take "the proper and usual means" for removal of scandalous ministers, like the vaguer "the best means" in instructions to governors of other colonies, was merely an evasion of responsibility by the crown officials who drafted royal instructions. Why grunt and sweat about how unworthy parsons were to be removed in the colonies? Let the governors do that. The question is however one which awaits investigation.

The governor's commission gave him the right to "collate" to benefices. As we have seen,<sup>88</sup> *collation* had a double meaning: in the case of governors, it might mean that they had the entire right to choose men for parochial cures; or it might mean that they had this right only when, after the canonical period of six months, those who ordinarily had the right had failed to exercise it. Which meaning did it have in the governors' commissions?

In seeking an answer to this question, the first consideration must be whether the crown had the patronage to grant; that is, were benefices in the new country, when created, in the gift of the crown? That they were supposed so to be by crown lawyers follows from the fact of the crown's grant of patronage to the proprietaries of Maryland, and of the Carolinas, and to the Virginia Company. Now the right of the crown to dispose of patronage in the colonies might conceivably be rested on one or more of these bases: (1) that the king is patron paramount of all benefices everywhere; (2) that because the colonies were crown possessions, all colonial land was originally the king's; (3) that the king as protector of the Church at home was necessarily also protector of the Church extended into the colonies, and as there were no patrons in the colonies at the outset, the king was necessarily patron there: he had supreme ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the colonies, and patronage was included in it. Let us take up these three possibilities in order.

The king's right as patron paramount is to see that no benefice remains long vacant. If the file of persons responsible below the king—primary patron, bishop, archbishop—collectively fails to fill a benefice,

<sup>87</sup>See Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 324-325, for these suspensions. F. L. Hawks, *Ecclesiastical Contributions*, II, 190 (quoted in Cross, *Anglican Episc.*, 6, n. 2, and in S. D. McConnell, *History of the American Episcopal Church*, 9th ed. 1904, 109), seems to deny to "the Bishop of London" any right to remove a colonial parson; whether to all such bishops or to all except Bishop Gibson is not certain.

<sup>88</sup>See text above, between Notes #24 and #25.

then the king does so.<sup>89</sup> Can this protective right be made into an original ownership of all benefices? No. The king's right as patron paramount relates only to supplementary action; it is not a right to the original patronage of the new benefices, either in the old land or the new. This follows from the origin and nature of patronage.

As to the second possible basis, i. e. crown ownership of colonial land, the idea of it takes us back into a stage of English constitutional development before Parliament had taken over so many of the original powers of the monarch as it now exercises. Maitland reminds us of the development.<sup>90</sup> But whatever may have been the king's constitutional right after the Revolution of 1688, it would seem that up to that time the monarch could grant colonial land either by enfeoffment or by charter,<sup>91</sup> and with it all rights of patronage. That he did so up to 1688, without challenge, is clear from many instances, of which the grant to the Virginia Company is one. And when the Virginia Company's charter was revoked, all land not already granted away by the Company became again the king's. The second possible basis for the right of the crown to dispose of patronage in the colonies, i. e. original ownership of colonial land by the king, is a sound one.

The third possibility, that the king, as protector of the Church in the colonies as well as at home, had such an ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the colonies as enabled him to dispose of patronage there, may also be sound, but in view of the conclusion as to the second basis the point need not be argued.

After this necessary excursion, we return now to the question: what was the meaning of the word *collate* in the commissions of gov-

<sup>89</sup>On the king as patron paramount, see Phillimore, *Eccl. Law*, I, 293, citing Gibson, *Codex*, 763. The citation is actually a quotation from p. 763 of the 2nd edition (1761) of Gibson, found in the 1st edition (1713), at p. 803. Gibson, in describing the nature of the king's right, gives no authority. However, the right is recognized in 25 Edw. 3, Stat. 6, IV(2), in decisions of the 16th and 17th centuries, and in 11 Halsbury's *Laws of England* (2nd ed., 1933), p. 434, #734. See also, Makower, *Constitutional History of the Church of England* (tr. 1895), 250.

<sup>90</sup>*The Constitutional History of England*, 418-419 (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1908, and frequent later reprints). Cf. A. V. Dicey, *The Law of the Constitution*, (6th ed., Macmillan, 1902) 369; T. P. Taswell-Langmead, *English Constitutional History* (&c.), (8th ed. by Phillipson, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1919), 681-683.

<sup>91</sup>Andrews, *Colonial Period*, I, 86, says: "The new lands in America were legally a part of the king's demesne and were held as of a royal manor in England. . . ." As to colonial fiefs and charters, see Sir David Lindsay Keir, *The Constitutional History of Modern Britain* (4th ed., A. & C. Black, London, 1950), 344-347, and as to the changed situation after 1688, *ibid.*, 269-272.

The fact that the document conveying a fief may loosely be termed a charter does not affect its legal character as a conveyance.

ernors? Did it confer the right to nominate to benefices in all cases, that is, generally, or only in the case of lapse?

The king had the power to confer the right to nominate if he had not already given it away. And assuming for the moment that it was still his to give, his gift would be construed as general rather than special, on the principle that where a limitation is not expressed it does not obtain. We may therefore assume that *prima facie* the governors obtained by their commissions the right to nominate to benefices in all cases.<sup>91-a</sup>

But in the case of the Virginia Company, the king had already given to the Company the right to fill benefices, and the Company had in turn empowered grantees of "plantations" and of "hundreds" to do so within their tracts. These grantees had in many cases made sub-grants. Whether these sub-grantees gained the right to dispose of benefices would depend on the character of their deeds, and in the absence of definite provision, on analogies drawn from the law of patronage. It would be difficult, without an exhaustive study, to make any statement on the subject. But whether or not sub-grantees had the nomination to benefices within their smaller holdings, the king no longer had the right, except to provide for lapse. Only in the case of land not already granted away by the Virginia Company would the king, on the revocation of the charter, recover a full right to dispose of benefices. We may therefore say with assurance that what the royal governors of Virginia obtained by their commissions was a general right to collate to benefices related to land not granted to others by the Company; and a right to collate by lapse only, where the related land had already been granted. No such distinction, however, seems to have been taken by either governors or vestries.

Still another circumstance affecting the issue would be colonial legislation: Could this overcome any right which the crown still had apart from it? The answer to this question will appear in the discussion below concerning the opinions of crown lawyers.

The legislation giving vestries the right to elect the parson has been mentioned above;<sup>92</sup> likewise the problem of removal resulting from induction.<sup>93</sup> In 1698, the bishop of London, Henry Compton, "protested to the secretary of state that the instruction about collating to benefices

<sup>91-a</sup>Cross, *Anglican Episcopate*, p. 5, says: "The governor's power of ordinary did not include that of patronage, or of presentation in any way except by lapse . . .," but he seems to rest it solely on "Remarks" by Commissary Blair in the Virginia clergy convention of 1719, in Perry, *Hist. Coll.*, I, 218-245.

<sup>92</sup>See above, text and Note #75.

<sup>93</sup>See above, text and Notes #80-#85.

was not strong enough to protect the king's prerogative against the encroachments of the vestries. No change was made however and the problem remained to trouble the successive governors and bishops for years to come."<sup>94</sup> Beside insisting upon their right to nominate their parsons, vestries were also protecting themselves from the life tenure which induction would confer upon scandalous parsons by refusing to present their nominees to the governor for him to induct; instead, they made year-to-year contracts with their parsons.<sup>95</sup>

This being the situation, Governor Nicholson sought and obtained in 1703, at the instance of Commissary Blair, an opinion from the attorney-general of England, then Sir Edward Northey, as to whether governor or vestry had the right of nomination; whether or not vestries (if they had the nomination) were obliged to present their nominees to the governor for induction; whether the governor might collate by lapse.<sup>96</sup>

The opinion commences with a recital of the titles of the acts of the Virginia Assembly to be considered. Four of these are so mentioned without citation of session or number. The first, "Church to be Built or Chapell of Ease," is Act I of March, 1661/62;<sup>97</sup> the second, "Ministers to bee Inducted," is Act IV of the same session;<sup>98</sup> the third, "Churchwardens to keepe the Church in Repare and Provide Ornaments," is Act XIV of the same session;<sup>99</sup> the fourth, "For the Better Support and Maintenance of the Clergy," is Act XI of September 1696.<sup>100</sup>

The opinion rules as follows: (1) induction results in life tenure, preventing removal by the parishioners; (2) the parishioners have the right to present a minister for induction, that is, theirs is the right of nomination; (3) for a first presentation, the parishioners have a reasonable time, but when that has expired, the governor, if he has given notice to present, may collate by lapse; (4) in succeeding vacancies, the gov-

<sup>94</sup>Labaree, *Royal Gov't*, 56, citing, *sub n.* 49, Bishop of London to Sir Philip Meadows, May 9, 1698, Colonial Office 5:1309, pp. 339-340 (transcript in Library of Congress); Calendar of State Papers Col., 1697-1698, #737.

<sup>95</sup>Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 100-102, 319-320, 321, 323, 346, 351, 377.

<sup>96</sup>Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 322. The opinion, there summarized, is printed in full in Dr. Brydon's essay in *HIST. MAG.*, XII(1943), 337-338, and in Perry, *Hist. Coll.*, I, 127-128. It is noticed in McIlwaine, *Exec. Jnls. Council*, II, 353. For a comment by Commissary Blair on induction, see his letter of July 17, 1724, to the Bishop of London in Perry, *Hist. Coll.*, I, 321. He thinks the governor should give notice to vestries before exercising his right to present for lapse.

<sup>97</sup>Hening, II, 44; Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 453-454.

<sup>98</sup>Hening, II, 46; Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 457-458.

<sup>99</sup>Hening, II, 52; Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 464-466.

<sup>100</sup>Hening, III, 151-153. It repeats the earlier Act III of March 1661/62; Hening, II, 45; Brydon, *Va. M.C.*, I, 456.



ernor may collate upon failure of the parishioners to present within six months; (5) the governor must in all cases find that the parson is qualified as the act for inducting ministers requires; (6) when a vacancy occurs, the governor may appoint a *locum tenens* until the parishioners present. The opinion does not present all of these points as clearly as might be desired, but it is believed that the foregoing accurately represents the conclusions.

The opinion was a victory for the vestries regarding the right to choose their parsons; one for the governor as to the obligation of vestries to present the parson for induction, and as to his right to collate for lapse. But notwithstanding the opinion, vestries generally refused to present for induction, and so won on this matter also.<sup>101</sup>

These issues were raised again by Governor Spotswood (1710-1722) in 1718. Two vestries yielded to his insistence that he had the right to choose their clergymen, but a third was recalcitrant and presented to the governor for induction not his choice but its own. The governor asked the Board of Trade to obtain for him the opinion of the attorney-general on his right to collate.<sup>102</sup> He received in response two opinions, one by the attorney-general, then Richard West, and one by the solicitor-general, Sir William Thompson.<sup>103</sup>

The opinions notice Act IV of the session of March 1661/62,<sup>104</sup> requesting the governor to induct "into any parish that shall make presentation of him" any minister producing the testimonial of ordination and making the subscription of conformity required by the act. They then quote the clause in the governor's commission giving him power to collate, and article 93 of the governor's instructions, ordering him to further the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the bishop of London, "excepting only collations to benefices . . . reserved to the governor," and note that the bishop of London's commission to his commissary likewise excepts collations. Then they state:

All Ministers bring Letters commendatory from the Bishop desiring the Governor to prefer such minister or ministers to

<sup>101</sup>See Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 323 and 517-532; Wertenbaker, *First Americans*, 135-136.

<sup>102</sup>For the struggle between vestries and governor, see Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 344-353. For the governor's request to the Board of Trade, see Brock, *Ofc. Letters Spotswood*, II, 286, 292-294.

<sup>103</sup>Both printed in Perry, *Hist. Coll.*, I, 243-245. For a comment by Commissary Blair on Governor Spotswood's view of the governor's powers, see Blair to the Bishop of London, July 17, 1724, in Perry, *Hist. Coll.*, I, 321-322. Blair goes on to recommend that the crown yield to vestries the right to present, and that parishes be required to present within a reasonable time or the governor to collate by lapse.

<sup>104</sup>Hening, II, 46; Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 457.

some vacant Benefice; And accordingly the Governor sends the minister so recommended (after having seen his Orders & Testimonials) to such vacant Parishes as he thinks fit. Also it's to be noted that every Clergyman coming into America receives £20 out of the Treasury; as the King's Chaplains employ'd in His majesty's service.

Quare, Whether by the power aforesaid the King doth not claim the Right of Collation to all parishes here?

After discussion of the Virginia statute the opinions inquire:

If the Vestry have the Right of patronage, Whether they can place in their parish any minister without the License of the Gov'rs [*sic*] who in this Case is put in the place of the Ordinary? Or can they remove such minister at their pleasure, without any Offence prov'd before the competent Judge having Cognizance of such Offence?

In answer to these questions, Attorney-General West says merely that the prerogative of the crown cannot be lessened or taken away by general words, but only by express terms; the king's prerogative as to vacant benefices remains entire. Solicitor-General Thompson says that the words of the statute do not take away the governor's power to collate given him by the king. The words of the Virginia statute are only that the governor be requested to induct where the parish recommends, and the king's right cannot be taken away by any such words. "The King has the ecclesiastical jurisdiction in him over the plantations," and if he has not parted with it to the bishop of London, and it seems he has not, then the governor, "by the Authority transferr'd to him, may exercise this Right & I conceive the Vestries have no pretensions to it by that Act or any other Way."

It will be noticed that these two opinions proceed almost altogether on the ground that the wording of the Virginia act is not sufficient to take away the rights inherent in the crown; only in the concluding phrase of the second opinion is there an intimation that no matter what the wording of the act, the rights would remain in the crown. Nevertheless, one may believe that even had the act made a definite assertion that the right to nominate to benefices was in the vestries, the opinions would have upheld the right of the governor, for otherwise it would have been necessary to admit that colonial legislation could affect crown rights.

These opinions, then, support the governor's right to nominate the parson, and by implication also his right to insist upon induction. But Commissary Blair and one of his sympathizers had also obtained an

opinion from Sir Robert Raymond of Lincoln Inn.<sup>105</sup> This was to the following effect:

The Virginia parish churches were founded, built, and endowed by the parishes, and from this fact a right of patronage or presentation in the parish follows. For this reason, vestries chosen by the parishes have ever since the first settling of the country "presented their own ministers, and the Governor as ordinary might institute and induct them." This right to present has been confirmed to the vestries by the act in question. A clause in the commission of the governor cannot take away or repeal an act of Assembly.

Of this opinion it may be said that resting the claim of the parishes upon the ancient basis of patronage—the construction and endowment of a church upon land of the patron—placed it upon the best possible ground. The opinion assumes, however, in favor of the vestries, their ownership of the church sites, and their acquisition with this ownership of the patron's right of presentation. What were the facts?

That the parishioners were the owners, by gift or purchase, of the church sites, is clear. But whether with this ownership they acquired the patronage is the difficult question which has already been discussed.<sup>106</sup> As we have seen, the Virginia Company held the rights of patronage in respect of all the territory within its grant, and passed these on to grantees of the large tracts known as "plantations" and "hundreds." If we assume that all sub-grantees, and thus the vestries, obtained rights of patronage as to their smaller tracts,<sup>107</sup> yet this would be true only as to land derived from the Virginia Company. Land obtained immediately or mediately from the crown, after the revocation of the Company's charter in 1625, would not be conjoined with rights of patronage, as we have seen. These rights remained in the crown and were conferred by it upon its governors. But as neither governors nor vestries made any distinction based on the derivation of grants, the question as to who had the right of patronage seems insoluble.

One other point in the Raymond opinion requires notice, and that is its assertion that the act of the Virginia Assembly confirming to vestries the right to choose their parsons is superior to the clause in the commissions of governors conferring upon them the right to collate.

<sup>105</sup>Printed in Perry, *Hist. Coll.*, I, 197-198. It is dated November 17, 1718. See Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 352, for the action of Blair.

<sup>106</sup>See text above, at Notes #89-#92.

<sup>107</sup>In favor of this assumption is the fact that so far as Dr. Brydon's extensive researches, represented by his two volumes, show, we never hear of any assertion by a grantor that the rights remained in him.

If, by 1718, English constitutional development had arrived at a point which would have enabled Parliament to take over the sovereign's power over colonial benefices, still it had not done so. And it would seem that a colonial Assembly could not do so. The Raymond opinion is probably in error in placing Act IV of 1661/62 of the Virginia Assembly above the rights conferred by the crown upon the governor in his commission, unless we are to say that failure of the crown to disallow the act was a tacit confirmation of the powers asserted in it. But the theory of a tacit confirmation can hardly stand in the face of the assertion in the governors' commissions.

The failure of the crown advisers to think out the canon law of the situation and state it in clear terms inevitably created confusion, and a conflict, in which the settlers won out because they could not effectively be compelled to act in contradiction of their claims.

The opinion does not deal with the right to collate for lapse, or with the obligation to present for induction.

### Government of the Church

We return now to our description of the legislation which served as constitution and canons for the Church. We were speaking of the powers and duties of vestries. The final item in the list of these was to make complaint to the Governor and Council of "neglect or misbehaviour" by the parson.<sup>108</sup> "Neglect" would relate to duties; "misbehaviour" to conduct,<sup>109</sup> and presumably to failure to use the Prayer Book and to conform to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England. We shall not concern ourselves with the secular duties, such as poor relief, imposed upon vestries of the colony, as they had been upon vestries in the homeland, although these played an important part in training the colonial population for self-government, and we pass to the support of the clergy by glebe, parsonage, so-called tithe, and fees.

A glebe of 100 acres for each parson had been stipulated by the Virginia Company.<sup>110</sup> Act III of March, 1661/62,<sup>111</sup> required a glebe and a parsonage in every parish but did not specify the size of the

<sup>108</sup>Act I of March, 1642/43, Hening, I, 240; Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 438, 441-442.

<sup>109</sup>As to duties and conduct, see the text above at Note #53ff.

<sup>110</sup>Broadside of May 17, 1620, printed in Kingsbury, *Records of Va. Co.*, III, 276-277; excerpt, including the clause here in question, in Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 44; Instructions to Governor Yeardley of November 18, 1618, Kingsbury, III, 102; excerpt in Brydon I, 415.

<sup>111</sup>Hening, II, 45; Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 456-457.

glebe.<sup>111-a</sup> There was a sharp difference of opinion between clergy and laity as to how far glebes had been provided, and as to their value.<sup>112</sup> In 1724, 28 of the Virginia clergy answered questions put by the bishop of London, then Gibson, one of which related to glebes. The replies are summarized and discussed by Dr. Brydon, who comments that "new land was so cheap in Virginia, except in the oldest and longest settled counties, and was so easily secured, that any minister who had any business ability at all could purchase and develop his own land and make his own home."<sup>113</sup> But Wertebaker notes that even where the glebe was a good one, the parson's uncertain tenure, and the demands which cultivation made upon his time, tended to make it useless to him.<sup>113-a</sup>

The same act which required glebes provided also for parsonages. The replies to the bishop of London indicate that, as in the case of glebes, there was considerable irregularity in their provision and maintenance.

The "tithe," provided for in general terms by the Virginia Company,<sup>114</sup> and later by legislation which fixed it at a stated quantity of tobacco and corn, with an occasional supplementation of goats, pigs, and calves,<sup>115</sup> gave the clergy an income which varied according to the quality of the tobacco in which it was principally paid, and the price tobacco commanded in the always fluctuating market. As in the case of glebe, there was a difference of opinion on the sufficiency of the support which the tithe afforded.<sup>116</sup>

<sup>111-a</sup>Dr. Brydon knows of no extant statute fixing 200 acres, and adds, (in a letter of June 27, 1949, to the author): "but all the evidence seems to point to the fact that there was either a law or order of Governor and Council to that effect." He cites *inter alia* a direction in Section V of Act XXXIV of 1748, Hening, VI, 89, that every parish should have "a good and convenient tract of land to contain 200 acres at the least" as glebe.

<sup>112</sup>See the declaration and counter-declaration of 1695 to Governor Andros in Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 315-318.

<sup>113</sup>*Va. M. C.*, I, 388. And see the discussion at 385-388. For the questions by the bishop of London and the replies, see Perry, *Hist. Coll.*, I, 261-318.

<sup>113-a</sup>*First Americans*, 122-123.

<sup>114</sup>The Broadside of 1620 mentions, beside glebes, "other profits out of the Inhabitants increase": Kingsbury, *Records Va. Co.*, III, 277; Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 44. The instructions to Governor Yeardley of 1618 order that "for a further supply of their maintenance there be raised a yearly standing and certain contribution out of the profits growing or renewing within the several farmes of the said parish": Kingsbury, III, 102; Brydon, I, 415.

<sup>115</sup>Act XIV of February-March, 1631/32, Hening, I, 159-160; Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 430-432; Act XVI of September, 1632, Hening, I, 184-185; Brydon, I, 432; Act VII of January, 1639/40, Hening, I, 226; Brydon, I, 436; Act I of March, 1642/43, Hening, I, 242-243; Brydon, I, 438-439, 442; Act IV of October, 1646, Hening, I, 328; Brydon, I, 448; Act III of March, 1661/62, Hening, II, 45; Brydon, I, 456-457. These Acts provided not a true tithe, but a salary payable in commodities.

<sup>116</sup>On the difference of opinion, see Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 315, 318.

Fees for marriages, churchings, and funerals<sup>117</sup> provided some additions to the parson's income, but their amount was estimated at a higher figure by the laity than by the clergy.<sup>118</sup>

An intensive study would be required to arrive at a sound opinion on the adequacy of the support provided by glebe, parsonage, "tithe" and fees together. A period of one hundred and seventy years is in question, during which the value of the tobacco, which formed the principal item of income, fluctuated; and there were great differences from parish to parish. Dr. Brydon believes that the truth lies somewhere between the opinion of the Virginia Burgesses of 1696 that the clergy were well paid, and the opinion of the clergy, in convention the same year, that their circumstances were "most deplorable."<sup>119</sup> Wertenbaker however is positive that "all in all the livings of the Virginia clergy were most inadequate."<sup>120</sup>

It has been shown that the Virginia parish had territorial bounds, which might be and often were altered as convenience or necessity required, and that, because tobacco, the staple of the country, required large holdings, the population was scattered. These circumstances, true of the eastern counties, first settled, had their analogue in the later-settled area of the Shenandoah Valley, where there were relatively few Church of England settlers. Notwithstanding the resulting difficulty of attending church, attendance was required by law, and absence was made punishable in the earliest days severely, and later by fine,<sup>121</sup> but Dr. Brydon states that distances and the danger from slaves and indentured servants prevented enforcement.<sup>121-a</sup> Holy Communion was to be celebrated thrice yearly.<sup>122</sup> Baptism was compulsory,<sup>123</sup> and so was marriage in church.<sup>124</sup> There were, of course, no confirmations, because there was no bishop. The Rev. Hugh Jones, in his account of Virginia

<sup>117</sup>Act XIV of February-March, 1631/32, Hening, I, 159-160; Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 432; Act I of March, 1642/43, Hening, I, 243; Brydon, I, 439.

<sup>118</sup>Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 315-317; Wertenbaker, *First Americans*, 123.

<sup>119</sup>Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, 316-318; his own opinion at 318.

<sup>120</sup>*First Americans*, 123.

<sup>121</sup>Dale's Laws of 1611, in Force, *Hist. Tracts*, III, pp. 10-11 of item II; Acts (no numbers) of 1619, in McIlwaine, *Jnls. H. of B.*, 1619-1658/59, 14; Act II of February-March 1631/32, Hening, I, 155; Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 426-427; Act IX of March 1661/62, Hening, II, 48; Brydon, I, 460-461.

<sup>121-a</sup>*Va. M. C.*, II, 43-44.

<sup>122</sup>Act XII of February-March, 1631/32, Hening, I, 158; Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 430.

<sup>123</sup>Act III of December, 1662, Hening, II, 165-166; Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 475.

<sup>124</sup>Act XIII of February-March, 1631/32, Hening, I, 158; Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 430; Acts I of March, 1642/43 and XIV of October, 1646, Hening, I, 241 and 332; Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 437, 448, required banns read in church.



written and published in England in 1724 after six years of residence in Virginia, says:<sup>125</sup>

For want of Confirmation Persons are admitted to the Holy Sacrament with mean and blind Knowledge, and poor Notions of the divine Mysteries of the Supper of the Lord; which is an Abuse of a thing so very sacred.

But want of confirmation would not itself be responsible for lack of instruction. This lack should rather be laid at the door of distance and general difficulty of ministry. Jones himself, in an earlier part of the same paper, submits a proposal for instruction.

### The Recruitment of Clergymen for Service in Virginia

Recruitment has two parts: inducing applications, and testing applicants.

The Council for Virginia, the governing body of the corporation commonly known as the Virginia Company,<sup>126</sup> applied in 1620 to the contemporary bishop of London, John King, for aid in furnishing it with "pious, learned, and painful ministers." But King died the following year, and his immediate successor seems not to have been helpful.<sup>127</sup> Six typical entries in the records of the Company<sup>128</sup> indicate that clergymen heard of opportunities in Virginia by chance, or from some clergyman or layman, or were put forward by some member of the Council on his knowledge or on the recommendation of a friend. Presumably the Company found ways of advertising its need. However applicants may have been obtained, great care was taken in testing them. Brydon, emphasizing this, says:<sup>129</sup>

Unless an applicant was well known to members of the Council, a committee was appointed to meet him and report upon his qualifications and fitness for the Virginia field. Usually, the applicant was required to preach a sort of trial sermon at St.

<sup>125</sup>In *The Present State of Virginia, Giving a particular and short account of* (&c.), (London, Printed for J. Clarke, 1724); there is also a New York reprint of 1865 (Sabin's Reprints, No. V.), and one of 1955 (Richard L. Morton (ed.), Univ. of No. Carolina Press). Dr. Brydon, in his *Va. M.C.*, I, 396-405, gives a long excerpt, from p. 404 of which the short quotation here given is taken.

<sup>126</sup>*Vide* Andrews, *Colonial Period*, I, 103.

<sup>127</sup>Cross, *Anglican Episc.*, 10-11.

<sup>128</sup>Printed in Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 419-421.

<sup>129</sup>*Va. M. C.*, I, 46, and see *ibid.*, 419-421, for excerpts from the records of the Company on the subject.

Sithe's Church before the Committee as part of their investigation.

Following the dissolution of the Virginia Company in 1625, there was "no group interested in trying to secure well-trained and acceptable ministers."<sup>130</sup> A contemporary account (1656) relates:<sup>131</sup>

Then they began to provide and send home for Gospel Ministers, and largely contribute for their maintenance: but Virginia not savouring handsomely in England, very few of good conversation would adventure thither, [but many bad ones came.]

An act of the Virginia Assembly of the same year<sup>132</sup> offered a reward to "what person or persons soever" bringing overseas "a sufficient minister," and vestries often commissioned one of their number bound for England to obtain a minister, or asked agents in England to do so.<sup>133</sup> All this was in the Commonwealth period, and one might suppose that there would have been many dispossessed parsons who would have been glad to emigrate, and some did come, but not enough.<sup>134</sup> Upon the Restoration in 1660, there were some two thousand English parish vacancies, and the priests surviving the ordeal of the Commonwealth, together with those secretly ordained in the Commonwealth period, were not numerous enough to fill them.<sup>135</sup> In 1661, not one-fifth of the Virginia parishes was supplied. But by 1680 there were 35 incumbents who, among them, supplied 44 of the 48 parishes then formed.<sup>136</sup> From lists of parishes and their parsons prepared by governors and sent to the Board of Trade in London<sup>137</sup> on eight dates from 1680 to 1774, it would appear that the vacancies diminished gradually from 13 or 14 to four or five. In the decade just before the Revolution, there were more clergymen in Virginia than there were parishes, but it seems that many of these served as curates, so that actually there were still five parish vacancies in 1774.<sup>138</sup>

<sup>130</sup>Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 88, and see *ibid.*, 172-173.

<sup>131</sup>By John Hammond, in 1656, printed in Force, *Hist. Tracts*, III, item XIV, and quoted from by Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 89.

<sup>132</sup>Act V of December, 1656, Hening, I, 418; mentioned in Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 137.

<sup>133</sup>Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 137.

<sup>134</sup>See Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 173.

<sup>135</sup>The evidence as to the number of English parishes vacant is reviewed in C. E. Whiting, *Studies in English Puritanism* (S.P.C.K. and Macmillan, 1931), 10-14.

<sup>136</sup>Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 190, and see *ibid.*, 225-226.

<sup>137</sup>Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 225, 226, 241.

<sup>138</sup>Brydon, *Va., M. C.*, I, 241, and II, 251.

How clergymen were recruited for Virginia in the period from 1660 to the Revolution of 1688 is not apparent. Very likely the bishop of London gave his help.<sup>140</sup> The S.P.G., organized in 1701, sent few men, or none, to Virginia or Maryland; in the case of Virginia, because it "was better provided than any other."<sup>140</sup> Some men undoubtedly drifted in from other colonies.

The testing of men recruited was the function of the bishop of London, as we have seen; the requirement of a certificate from him of conformity to the doctrine of the Church of England was backed by the instruction to governors not to prefer anyone to a cure without the certificate, and in Virginia by an Act of 1661/62 requiring Anglican Orders,<sup>141</sup> and an order of the Virginia Council requiring conformity.<sup>142</sup>

### General Character of the Virginia Colonial Church

We have traced in outline the structure of the Virginia colonial Church and the legislation which served as its constitution and canons, and have indicated the obstacles which prevented an effective ministration and discipline. There remains for consideration, by way of conclusion, the general character which circumstances impressed upon that Church.

One element of this character was a congregational polity. As Dr. Brydon well says:<sup>143</sup> the Church "was simply a group of separate and unconnected parishes having no central authority around which to gather." A secular historian, James Truslow Adams, notes:<sup>144</sup>

Although the Congregationalists in New England had proclaimed independency whereas the Anglicans of Virginia had not, nevertheless the Church of England in Virginia was a far more independent body than say, the Church of England in the county of Kent at home. Just at the opening of the period of this chapter [1690-1713], the Bishop of London did, indeed, become represented in the colony by a commissary, but the colonial church had run its affairs for so long that whenever the new commissary came into conflict with the colonial order he was practically powerless. In Virginia, for example, the

<sup>140</sup>See Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 226: Resolution of the Virginia Council of State asking the governor to make representations to the bishop of London (July 8, 1680, McIlwaine, *Exec. Jnls. Council*, I, 7).

<sup>140</sup>Pascoe, *200 Yrs.*, 30, and cf. Thompson, *Into All Lands*, 58.

<sup>141</sup>Act IV, Henning, II, 456; Brydon, *Va. M. C.*, I, 457-458.

<sup>142</sup>Dated May 15, 1691; printed in McIlwaine, *Exec. Jnls. Council*, I, 176.

<sup>143</sup>*Va. M. C.*, II, 57. See also *ibid.*, 479.

<sup>144</sup>*Provincial Society*, 151.

right of presentation had passed to the parishioners and practically all power had centered in the vestries as against the governor, commissary, and clergy. The central authority, although acknowledged in theory, was in fact so slight that the Anglican parish of the South was almost as independent and congregational as were the avowed ones of the New England colonies.

A second element was the power over the parson which vestry and congregation obtained by evading induction and holding the parson, by contract, to a year-to-year tenure. It may be conceded that this course was a necessary measure of self-defence taken because the English authorities failed to provide a permanently satisfactory means of ousting evil men. Nevertheless, he would be a bold man who under such circumstances could always follow duty rather than expediency. The system permitted bullying; how much of this occurred is not revealed by Dr. Brydon's intensive studies and may be impossible to ascertain. Anderson, lamenting the whole system of lay control, speaks of parsons "cheated, browbeaten, and insulted, by ignorant and sordid vestries."<sup>145</sup> Manross, noting that the "temporary tenure . . . remained a subject of complaint from the clergy throughout the colonial period," concludes: "Just how much harm it did them, however, is not clear."<sup>146</sup> Brydon asserts, in effect, that independence is a moral quality which, if present in the parson, needs no protection of law, and if absent cannot be replaced by such protection.<sup>147</sup> But this seems an oversimplification. There are men of ability and character who will in time give way under the nagging of domineering laymen. Like a judge, a parson needs an independence secured by law.

A third element was the self-perpetuating vestry. It is difficult to know whether under the circumstances of the period this was an evil. It is true that today the Church is beginning to recognize the desirability of new blood by the requirement, in an increasing number of parishes, imposed in some instances by diocesan legislation, that there be rotation. The requirement has been a result of the failure of parishioners to exercise their right to choose new men rather than of provision for indefinite tenure.

Fourth, we may note that, as parson and vestry alike were under the thumb of the General Assembly, the Church was completely subject to lay control.<sup>148</sup>

<sup>145</sup>*C. of E. in Colonies*, II, 377-379.

<sup>146</sup>*Hist.*, 70.

<sup>147</sup>*Va. M. C.*, I, 101-102.

<sup>148</sup>*Cf. Brydon, Va., M. C.*, II, 58.

A fifth element was the selection of parish incumbents by vestries. In colonial Virginia, there was not the safeguard of a requirement that the bishop be consulted, because there was no bishop. Whether vestries, even after consultation with the bishop, should have the final decision, is an involved controversial question which cannot be considered here.<sup>149</sup>

Finally, there had developed in colonial Virginia an opposition to the office of bishop. There were reasons for this, which Dr. Brydon has explained fully.<sup>150</sup> But it was not a helpful legacy to the post-Revolutionary Church.

<sup>149</sup>At present, owing to the indefinite provisions of the governing canon of General Convention, "Of the Filling of Vacant Cures," the law is construed differently in different dioceses. For some of the controversy the reader may consult the references to the discussions in recent General Conventions given in White & Dykman, *Annotated Constitution and Canons*, (Seabury Press, 1954), II, 203-207.

<sup>150</sup>*Id.*, *M. C.*, II, 355-356, 458-461, 486.

## Appendix

### An Alphabetical List of the Bibliographical Abbreviations Found in the Footnotes

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| Adams, <i>Provincial Society</i> .      | JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS, <i>Provincial Society, 1690-1763</i> (Macmillan, 1927). Vol. 3 in Schlesinger & Fox, <i>A History of American Life</i> .                  |
| Anderson, <i>C. of E. in Colonies</i> . | JAMES S. M. ANDERSON, <i>A History of the Church of England in the Colonies</i> (2nd ed., London, 1856. 3 vols.)   |
| Andrews, <i>Colonial Period</i> .       | CHARLES M. ANDREWS, <i>The Colonial Period of American History</i> (Yale Univ. Press, 1934-38. 4 vols.)  |
| Andrews, <i>Colonial Self-Gov't</i> .   | CHARLES M. ANDREWS, <i>Colonial Self-Government, 1652-1689</i> (Harper & Bros., 1907.) Vol. 5 in A. B. Hart, <i>The American Nation: A History</i> .           |
| Beard, <i>Rise of Am. Civ.</i>          | CHARLES A. & MARY R. BEARD, <i>The Rise of American Civilization</i> (Macmillan, 1927. 2 vols.)  |
| Brock, <i>Ofc. Letters Spotswood</i> .  | R. A. BROCK, <i>Official Letters of Alexander Spotswood</i> (Virginia Historical Collections, Vols. 1 & 2: Virginia Historical Society, Richmond 1882 & 1885.) |

Brydon, *Va. M. C.*

GEORGE MACLAREN BRYDON, D.D., *Virginia's Mother Church and the Political Conditions Under Which It Grew* (Vol. I, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond 1947; Vol. II, 1952, Church Historical Society, Philadelphia.)

Channing, *Hist. U. S.*

EDWARD CHANNING, *A History of the United States* (6 vols. Macmillan). Vol. I, 1907. Vol. II, 1908.

Cross, *Anglican Episc.*

ARTHUR LYON CROSS, Ph.D., *The Anglican Episcopate and the American Colonies* (Harvard Univ. Press, 1924).

Flippin, *Royal Gov't Va.*

PERCY SCOTT FLIPPIN, Ph.D., *The Royal Government in Virginia, 1624-1775* (Columbia Univ. Press, 1919).

Force, *Hist. Tracts.*

PETER FORCE (Collector), *Tracts & Other Papers, relating principally to the Origin, Settlement, and Progress of the Colonies in North America* (&c.). 4 vols. (Washington, D. C., 1836; printed by Peter Force).

Greene, *Foundations.*

EVARTS BOUTELL GREENE, *The Foundations of American Nationality* (American Book Co., 1922). Vol. 1, in Greene & Fish, *A Short History of the American People*.

Greene, *Provincial America.*

EVARTS BOUTELL GREENE, *Provincial America, 1690-1740* (Harper & Bros., 1907). Vol. 6, in A. B. Hart, *The American Nation, A History*.

Greene, *Religion & the State.*

EVARTS BOUTELL GREENE, *Religion and the State: The Making and Testing of an American Tradition*. (N. Y. Univ. Press, 1941).

Greene, *Revolutionary Generation.*

EVARTS BOUTELL GREENE, *The Revolutionary Generation, 1763-1790* (Macmillan, 1943). Vol. 4, in Schlesinger & Fox, *A History of American Life*.

Hening.

WILLIAM WALLER HENING (ed), *The Statutes at Large, being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia, from the first Session of the Legislature in the Year 1619* (13 vols., New York, 1823).

HIST. MAG.

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE of the Protestant Episcopal Church (Published Quarterly from 5 Paterson St., New Brunswick, N. J. under the authority of General Convention. 25 vols. through 1956.)

Howard, *Preliminaries.*

GEORGE ELLIOTT HOWARD, *Preliminaries of the Revolution, 1763-1775* (Harper & Bros., 1907). Vol. 8 in A. B. Hart, *The American Nation: A History*.



- Kingsbury, *Records Va. Co.* SUSAN MYRA KINGSBURY, A.M., Ph.D., *The Records of the Virginia Company of London. The Court Book*, from the Manuscript in the Library of Congress, edited, (&c). 4 vols. (Washington, Gov't Printing Office, 1906-1935).
- Labaree, *Royal Gov't.* LEONARD WOODS LABAREE, Ph.D., *Royal Government in America. A Study of the British Colonial System before 1783* (Yale Univ. Press, 1930).
- Labaree, *Royal Instructions.* LEONARD WOODS LABAREE, Ph.D. (collator & editor), *Royal Instructions to Colonial Governors, 1670-1776*. 2 vols. (Appleton-Century Co., 1935).
- McIlwaine, *Exec. Jnls. Council.* HENRY R. MCILWAINE (ed), *Executive Journals of the Council of State of Colonial Virginia, 1680-1739*. 5 vols. (Va. State Library, Richmond, 1925-1945).
- McIlwaine, *Leg. Jnls. Council.* HENRY R. MCILWAINE (ed), *Legislative Journals of the Council of State of Colonial Virginia, 1680-1773*. 3 vols. (Va. State Library, Richmond).
- McIlwaine, *Jnls. H. of B.* HENRY R. MCILWAINE (ed.), *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1619-1775*. 13 vols. (Va. State Library, Richmond, 1895-1906).
- McIlwaine, *Minutes C. & G. C.* HENRY R. MCILWAINE (ed.), *Minutes of the Council and General Court of Colonial Virginia, 1622-32, 1670-76*. 1 vol. (Va. State Library, Richmond, 1924).
- McKinley, *Suffrage.* A. E. MCKINLEY, *The Suffrage Franchise in the Thirteen English Colonies* (Univ. of Pennsylvania Series in History, No. 2. Ginn & Co., selling agents, 1905).
- Manross, *Hist.* WILLIAM WILSON MANROSS, Ph.D., *A History of the American Episcopal Church* (2nd ed., 1950; Morehouse-Gorham, N. Y.).
- Morgan & Lloyd, *Mission.* E. R. MORGAN & ROGER LLOYD (eds.), *The Mission of the Anglican Communion* (S.P.C.K. & S.P.G., 1948).
- Osgood, *18th Century.* HERBERT L. OSGOOD, *The American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century*. 4 vols. (Columbia Univ. Press, 1924).
- Pascoe, *200 Yrs.* C. F. PASCOE, *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G.: An Historical Account* (&c). 2 vols. (London, S.P.C.K., 1901).
- Pennington, *Talbot.* EDGAR LEGARE PENNINGTON, M.A., S.T.D. *Apostle of New Jersey: John Talbot* (Ch. Historical Society, Philadelphia, 1938).

- Perry, *History*.  
 PERRY, WILLIAM STEVENS, *The History of the American Episcopal Church, 1587-1883*. 2 vols. (Osgood & Co., Boston, 1885).
- Perry, *Hist. Coll.*  
 WILLIAM STEVENS PERRY, *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Episcopal Church*. 4 vols. (Hartford, Conn., 1870-78).
- Phillimore, *Eccl. Law*.  
 SIR ROBERT PHILLIMORE, Bart., D.C.L., *The Ecclesiastical Law of the Church of England*. 2nd ed. by his son, Sir Walter George Frank Phillimore, Bart., D.C.L., assisted by Charles Fuhr Jemmett, B.C.L. LL.M. 2 vols. (London, 1895).
- Thompson, *Into All Lands*.  
 H. P. THOMPSON, *Into All Lands: The History of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1701-1950* (London, S.P.C.K., 1951).
- Tiffany, *History*.  
 CHARLES C. TIFFANY, *A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America* (The Christian Literature Co., N. Y., 1895). Vol. 7 in *The American Church History Series*.
- Wand, *Anglican Communion*.  
 J. W. C. WAND, D.D. (ed.), *The Anglican Communion: A Survey* (Geoffrey Cumberledge, Oxford Univ. Press, 1948).
- Wertenbaker, *First Americans*.  
 THOMAS JEFFERSON WERTENBAKER, *The First Americans* (Macmillan, 1927). Vol. 2 in Schlesinger & Fox: *A History of American Life*.
- Whiting, *Studies*.  
 C. E. WHITING, D.D., B.C.L., *Studies in English Puritanism from the Restoration to the Revolution, 1680-1688*. (S.P.C.K., 1931).

## CARROLL E. SIMCOX

*Author of*

LIVING THE CREED • LIVING THE LORD'S PRAYER • THE WORDS OF  
OUR WORSHIP • LIVING THE TEN COMMANDMENTS

### UNDERSTANDING THE SACRAMENTS

A study of the seven historic Christian Sacraments, with special emphasis upon their foundation in the New Testament Church. This book is concerned above all with the theology of the Sacraments, as distinguished from the merely liturgical aspect of Christian sacramentalism.

*Contents:* Kissing and Other Sacraments • The Christian Sacraments • Holy Baptism • Confirmation • Holy Communion • Confession and Absolution • Holy Matrimony • Holy Orders • Holy Unction • The End of it All.

*An Episcopal Book Club selection.*

\$2.15

*Postpaid on Cash Orders*

**MOREHOUSE-GORHAM CO.**

14 E. 41st Street, New York 17, N. Y.

29 E. Madison St., Chicago 2, Ill. 261 Golden Gate Ave., San Francisco 2, Calif

## The Ministry in Historical Perspectives

*Edited by*

**H. RICHARD NIEBUHR and DANIEL D. WILLIAMS**

Eight outstanding American church historians comment penetratingly on nine great epochs in the history of the ministry and what they mean to the church today.

The Ministry in the Primitive Church  
by JOHN KNOX

The Ministry of the Ante-Nicene Church  
by GEORGE WILLIAMS

The Ministry in the Later Patristic Period  
by GEORGE WILLIAMS

The Ministry in the Middle Ages  
by ROLAND H. BAINTON

The Ministry in the Time of the Continental Reformation  
by WILHEIM PAUCK

Priestly Ministries in the Modern Church  
by EDWARD R. HARDY

The Ministry in the Puritan Age  
by WINTHROP HUDSON

Rise of the Evangelical Conception of the Ministry in America:  
1607-1850  
by SIDNEY E. MEAD

The Protestant Ministry in America 1850 to the Present  
by ROBERT MICHAELSEN

*At your bookseller \$5.00*

**HARPER & BROTHERS, N. Y., 16**

---

---

# Maryland's Established Church

By NELSON WAITE RIGHTMYER

*Historiographer of the Diocese  
of Maryland*

"STUDENTS of American Church History know by this time that anything written by Dr. Rightmyer is bound to be a sound piece of scholarly writing. This book is no exception. In it, Dr. Rightmyer traces the history of the Anglican Church in Maryland from its beginnings in 1632 until its incorporation in the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States in 1784. The book is thoroughly documented, and includes two valuable appendices—one giving a summary review of the establishment and incumbents of every Maryland colonial parish, and the other giving biographical sketches of all the Anglican clergy in colonial Maryland."—CANON GEORGE E. DeMILLE, author of "A History of the Diocese of Albany," and other works.

PUBLICATION No. 45

THE COPY, \$5.00



THE CHURCH HISTORICAL SOCIETY

606 Rathervue Place

Austin, Texas

---

---

*By Austin Pardue*

BISHOP OF PITTSBURGH

## **THE SINGLE EYE**

In *THE SINGLE EYE* Bishop Pardue examines first the meaning and implications in our lives of faith and fear. In the second section of the book on prayer, he not only outlines the nature and the results of prayer itself, but also gives valuable, specific suggestions on *how* to pray, not even neglecting such fundamentals as posture and surroundings.

*A dynamic study of the power of faith to transform life.*

**\$2.50**

*By John Heuss*

RECTOR OF TRINITY CHURCH, NEW YORK

## **A BOOK OF PRAYERS**

*For the clergy, devotional leaders, and for laymen who are interested in deepening their prayer life.*

MRS. ARTHUR M. SHERMAN, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF THE WOMAN'S AUXILIARY, SAYS:

"The range of prayers in this collection will make it a valuable addition to our devotional libraries. The prayer life of individuals and the corporate intercessions of parish groups will be enriched by the use of these prayers."

**\$2.00**

*By Dora P. Chaplin*

AUTHOR OF CHILDREN AND RELIGION

## **WE WANT TO KNOW**

Those who have found wise and constructive counsel in Dr. Dora P. Chaplin's series of articles in *Episcopal Churchnews*, called "What the Younger Generation is Asking," will welcome *WE WANT TO KNOW*, the book which is based on these articles.

"One hopes that *WE WANT TO KNOW* will be as much read by parents, teachers, and clergy as by the young people who have asked the questions and who need the insights and the truths that their elders may thereby help them achieve."

—Lawrence Rose, Dean of General Theological Seminary

**\$3.50**

(Postage paid on cash orders)

**MOREHOUSE-GORHAM CO.**

14 E. 41st Street, New York 17  
29 E. Madison Street, Chicago 2  
261 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco 2

# "Walking With God"

## ***A Devotional Miscellany***

*From the Unpublished Personal  
Papers of*

**BISHOP CHARLES HENRY BRENT**

EDITED BY

**FREDERICK WARD KATES**

*Rector, St. Paul's Parish,  
Baltimore, Maryland*

•

*"The excerpts from Bishop Brent's writings are priceless."—Dr. NELSON R. BURR, author of "The Anglican Church in New Jersey," and other works.*

•

PUBLICATION NO. 44

THE COPY, 50c



**THE CHURCH HISTORICAL SOCIETY**

606 Rathervue Place

Austin 5, Texas



*"Adventures in Parish History,*  
by Dr. Nelson R. Burr, ought to  
be required reading for anyone  
attempting to write a local church  
history, whether on the diocesan  
or the parish level."

—CANON GEORGE E. DEMILLE.

Publication No. 25    The Copy, 25c

CHURCH HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
606 Rathervue Place, Austin 5, Texas

Clergy and Choir

VESTMENTS

ALTAR HANGINGS AND LINENS  
CHASUBLES—ALBS—AMICES—COPEs

*All Embroidery I. Hand Done*

Materials by the Yard—"Kits" for  
Altar Hangings and Eucharistic  
Vestments

J. M. HALL, INC.

14 West 40th St., New York 18, N. Y.  
Tel. CHickering 4-3306

## The H. W. Gray Co., Inc.

"Leading Publishers of Music  
for the Episcopal Church"

Agents for:

The Plainchant Publications  
Committee, London, England  
(Edited by Francis Burgess)

The St. Dunstan Edition  
of Plainchant  
(Edited by Winfred Douglas)

Novello & Co., Ltd., London

S. Bornemann, Paris, France

159 East 48th St.  
New York 17, N. Y.

## From "Churches" to "Church"



By The Rev. DuBose Murphy, M. A.

*Historiographer of the Province  
of Sewanee*

•  
Publication No. 43—The Copy, 20c  
6 Copies, \$1.00  
•

THE CHURCH HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
606 Rathervue Place, Austin, Texas

*"An Old Classic Speaks in Contemporary Accents  
To Living Issues of Theology"*

## **Hooker's Theology of Common Prayer**

**The Fifth Book of the Polity Paraphrased  
and Expanded into a Commentary on the  
Prayer Book**

**By JOHN S. MARSHALL**

*Professor of Philosophy  
The University of the South*

Dr. Massey H. Shepherd, Jr., one of our leading liturgiologists, says about this book:

**T**HE result is extraordinarily effective. We have nothing less than an up-to-date apology for the Book of Common Prayer, yet one that is faithful in all respects to Hooker's theology. This is, in itself, a tribute to Professor Marshall's skill and artistry and to the enduring values of Hooker's apologetic. . . . The pages on the apostolic ministry also have a special relevance for our own times. . . . This book is an outstanding example of how old classics can be made to speak in contemporary accents to living issues of theology."—HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.



Paper Edition, \$2.50

Cloth Edition, \$4.00

*Order from your Bookstore or from*

**The University Press**

**Sewanee, Tennessee**

## THE CHURCH'S SEMINARIES

Are Indispensable to Its Life and Growth

- 1817 THE GENERAL THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY  
CHELSEA SQUARE  
NEW YORK 11, NEW YORK
- 1823 THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL THEOLOGICAL  
SEMINARY IN VIRGINIA  
ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA
- BEXLEY HALL
- 1824 THE DIVINITY SCHOOL OF KENYON COLLEGE  
GAMBIER, OHIO
- 1842 NASHOTAH HOUSE  
NASHOTAH, WISCONSIN
- 1854 BERKELEY DIVINITY SCHOOL  
38 HILLHOUSE AVENUE  
NEW HAVEN 11, CONNECTICUT
- 1857 THE DIVINITY SCHOOL IN PHILADELPHIA  
4205 SPRUCE STREET  
PHILADELPHIA 4, PENNSYLVANIA
- 1858 SEABURY-WESTERN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY  
600 HAVEN STREET  
EVANSTON, ILLINOIS
- 1867 EPISCOPAL THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL  
99 BRATTLE STREET  
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS
- 1878 THE SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY  
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF THE SOUTH  
SEWANEE, TENNESSEE
- 1893 CHURCH DIVINITY SCHOOL OF THE PACIFIC  
2451 RIDGE ROAD  
BERKELEY 9, CALIFORNIA
- 1951 THE EPISCOPAL THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY  
OF THE SOUTHWEST  
606 RATHERVUE PLACE  
AUSTIN, TEXAS

Catalogues and other information can be had from the Deans.

# Four Diocesan Histories

*Which Are a Credit to the Authors, the Dioceses Concerned,  
and the Church at Large*

## The Anglican Church in New Jersey

By Nelson R. Burr

"**D**R. BURR has produced one of the best pieces of historical writing in the whole range of American Church History."—Canon GEORGE E. DEMILLE, author of *A History of the Diocese of Albany*.

**\$10.00**

## A History of the Diocese of Albany

By George E. DeMille

"**D**EMILLE'S history rates very high by these standards which I have ventured to propose. . . . May other dioceses be as fortunate in their historians."—Prof. E. R. HARDY, *Berkeley Divinity School*.

**\$2.50**

## The Anglican Church in Delaware

By Nelson W. Rightmyer

"**T**HIS volume is excellent. I read every word of it at once upon its arrival. Congratulations for another worthy publication."—Prof. MASSEY H. SHEPHERD, JR., *Church Divinity School of the Pacific*.

**\$3.00**

## Virginia's Mother Church

By George MacLaren Brydon

Volume I: 1607-1727

"**M**ASSIVE learning has gone into this book. . . . Without question it is the standard book on its subject."—Prof. ALEXANDER C. ZABRISKIE, *Virginia Theological Seminary*.

**\$7.50**

Volume II: 1727-1814

"**W**ITHOUT this book, the history of Virginia in the colonial and Revolutionary periods could not be understood."—H. J. ECKENRODE, author of *Separation of Church and State in Virginia*.

**\$10.00**

---

**CHURCH HISTORICAL SOCIETY**

• 606 RATHERVUE PL.  
AUSTIN, TEXAS

---

---

*The vigor and directness  
of the Medieval Theatre*

## Great Christian Plays

*Edited by*

Theodore M. Switz and Robert A. Johnson

Original music and arrangements by Thomas Mortimer

Acting versions in modern English of five of the greatest medieval religious plays, plus a beautiful selection of choral readings with musical cues. Powerful, timeless—these plays, based on great biblical themes, reveal as no history book ever can how people felt and behaved then—toward one another and toward God. Here is living history for

- The Brune Abraham and Isaac—a 14th-century storybook discovered in Brune Menn.
- The York Resurrection—originally part of the 15th-century cycle of plays used on great biblical themes and publicly presented in the great celebration of Corpus Christi.
- The Dighty Conversion of St. Paul—an old sermon play designed to teach people the change that God can make in man.
- Totentanz (THE DANCE OF DEATH)—a German morality play, inspired by the catastrophe of the Black Death, which presents a dramatic meditation on death.
- Everyman—the most famous of all English morality plays.
- Choral Readings—ranging from four modern verse scripts and a poem by Charles Peguy, to excerpts in verse from THE IMITATION OF CHRIST, and dialogues based on the Gospel of St. John.

Each of these plays is part of the great medieval tradition. Each is ideally suited for general reading, for history classes, for school or college performances, for amateur theatre groups.

With detailed notes for the amateur director, complete stage directions, simple prose sketches of the easy-to-make costumes. Beautiful musical scores with cues and directions for chants.

AT YOUR BOOKSTORE



Like drawings . . .

---

GREENWICH, CONNECTICUT

The **ABC** of

**REDUCED EXPENSES  
AID TO CLERGY PENSIONS**

### **The Church Life Insurance Corporation**

**A** Low premium cost life insurance for the clergy, lay officials and workers of the Church, and their immediate families. A variety of policies to meet your individual needs. Write our Programming Service.

### **The Church Fire Insurance Corporation**

**B** Insurers and advisors exclusively for Episcopal Church properties—covering fire—extended coverage—vandalism—fine arts— theft—glass—personal property floaters for clergy—premiums payable quarterly at savings up to twenty per cent.  
Church AGENCY Corporation—Fidelity bonds—boiler insurance—general liability—compensation—at advantageous terms.

### **The Church Hymnal Corporation**

**C** Publisher of all church editions of the Book of Common Prayer and the Hymnal, and other books, including the popular Prayer Book Studies series. The books are of fine quality, the prices surprisingly low. As with all the "Church" companies, profits accrue to The Church Pension Fund.

**all affiliated with**

**the Church Pension Fund**

**75 Exchange Place New York 5, N. Y.**